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your New York Life Agent to show you. She—or he—is a good person to know.

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER



MRS. JOHNSON & CORRESPONDENT ANGELO

WHEN Correspondent Bonnie Angelo first met Lady Bird Johnson some 13 years ago, Angelo was a reporter for a Long Island newspaper, Lady Bird the wife of U.S. Senator aspiring to the presidency. Mrs. Johnson eventually moved to the White House, Angelo to TIME's Washington news bureau, and their contact with each other continued. Last month Angelo and Lady Bird were together again as the former First Lady took time from a hectic schedule to reflect upon the problems of widowhood. Her

thoughts appear this week in a special story in our Nation section. Angelo flew to Austin, Texas, and visited Lady Bird at her office in the Lyndon Baines Johnson Memorial Library and on the L.B.J. Ranch. "It seemed only right that much of our time in Texas was spent on the move," says Angelo, "In her White House years I had traveled almost 100,000 miles covering Lady Bird in splendid palaces and even more splendid wildernesses. This time the questions I had to ask were deeply personal, but she talked as perceptively as always, with a poetic turn of phrase, unabashed candor and an unquelled sense of joy. She is a truly remarkable woman."

This week, after an absence of nearly five months, TIME's sister magazine LIFE returns to the newsstands in a new form. The occasion is a LIFE report titled "The Spirit of Israel," a special edition to mark the 25th anniversary of that country's birth. Ever since LIFE suspended publication last December, says LIFE Publisher Garry Valk, "we have been searching for ways in which LIFE's pictorial journalism could continue to make a significant contribution to people's understanding of events and ideas

The special edition is in the traditional large LIFE size; it is 92



pages long and features more than 140 color photographs and 20,000 words of text. It depicts the history of Israel from its early days as an inhospitable stretch of sand on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean to its growth into one of the wealthiest, most militarily powerful nations in the Middle East. The issue examines the Israeli people and their life-styles, their heritage and their hopes for the future. Assembled by a score of former LIFE staff members, it contains no advertising and sells for \$1.50. It is the first of many single-subject issues that LIFE hopes to publish in the future. For our part, we are happy to welcome back the long-familiar red and white logo.

Ralph P. Davdson

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The Cover: Sculpture by Three Dimensional Design-Glaubach and Yanchusk; photographed by Joe Reynolds.

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Before you buy, build or remodel, see an Andersen Perma-Shield Window demonstration at your local lumber dealer. He's in the Yellow Pages under "Windows, Wood."

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□ I plan to build □ I plan to remodel a. Name_ Address City_

Cheap air conditioning is no bargain.

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doesn't keep its cool.



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is a bargain - the bargain that costs a little more. You save in the long run. With the longer life of a quality system. And the well-known economy of gas.

Central gas cooling units have fewer moving parts, no compressor. So there's less to go wrong. And no other air conditioners are made with more stainless steel than Servel units. They're built to last. Precision-made to operate efficiently. That's why you may pay more for Servel initially. Because quality does not come cheap

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cleanest source of

It gives you a clean home inside, cleaner air outside. So if it's time you replaced your old gas air conditioning unit, stay with the best-gas, clean energy for today and tomorrow. And remember the quality of Servel-the bargain that costs a little more.





A TESTIMONIAL ABOUT A CAR, FROM A MAN WHOSE LIFE DEPENDS ON A CAR.

The flying car you see above is a Fiat 124.

The man flying the car is a

Frenchman by the name of Remy Jullienne. Europe's greatest living stunt driver.

"In my work, if you want to stay alive, you leave nothing to chance.

"Obviously the car is everything. Before I drive a car I know it 100%. The body and suspension must be extraordinarily strong. "And mechanically it must

"And mechanically it must perform with great precision. It must do exactly what I want, exactly when I want it. Because if I am even one hundredth of a

second off, it is goodbye."

Now, since in Europe there are 50 different kinds of cars to choose from, we thought you'd be

interested to know that in the more than 100 films Remy Jullienne has made he's done more stunts in

Fiats than in any other car.

And the Fiat he prefers to

drive above all is the Fiat 124. A family car.



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JOCK ITCH ISN'T SOMETHING TO BE TREATED LIGHTLY. tal Bab Powde

Jock Itch is a fungous infection It can become serious It can keep coming back even though you try all manner of "remedies," from baby powder to petroleum jelly. But you can get fast relief

with Cruex®, the spray-on medi-cated powder specifically made to fight Jock Itch.

Cruex soothes itchy, inflamed skin. Cushions against further irritation. And absorbs per-

-tinea cruris). Its medication directly attacks susceptible fungi. And because you spray Cruex on, you can reach into hard-to-get-at places and avoid the sting or burn of rubbing, dab-

spiration (an im

bing, or smearing. So fight Jock Itch seriously (and help keep it from recurring) with cooling, soothing Cruex. Guaranteed to work or your money back.

in the growth of Jock Itch fungi

CRUEX, THE MEDICATED SPRAY SPECIALLY FORMULATED TO FIGHT JOCK ITCH. ©1972 Pharmacraft Division Pennwalt Corporation

ortant factor

LETTERS

The Widening Watergate

Sir / Congratulations to your correspondents for their determination in bringing more of the facts of the Watergate "caper"

The First Amendment is alive and well in this nation, in spite of Justice Department and Administration harassment, because so many correspondents had the courage and

Sir / The American people should now realize to whom they owe a debt of gratitude for whatever morality is left in official life. If the press ever allows itself to be stifled by a cunning President or his overzealous staff, we, the people, will be the only ones to suffer

BERNICE SIROTA Miami Beach

Sir / "Amnesty" would be something like being able to forgive and forget Watergate. I LAMONT WILTSEE IR

Long Beach, Calif. Sir / The President should resign. That is the only honorable course open to him. In no self-respecting European democracy and perhaps only in that of our allies in South Viet Nam, could a regime conceivably ride out a scandal of the magnitude of Watergate. Mr. Nixon, who has delighted in setting precedents, should set one more

in the Constitution JOSEPH F. HAWKINS IR Ann Arbor, Mich.

Sir / Hugh Sidey's "Sadness of Mid-America" [April 30] sums it up pretty well, but what has infuriated me is the President's and his unassailably righteous untouchables' evident belief in the unfathomable stupidity of the average American.

and thereby help patch a yawning loophole

TOM SISTO Laguna Beach, Calif.

Sir / Happiness is a McGovern Democrat reading Time's Watergate cover story!

Sir / Little men who rise to positions of greatness have to choose between enlarging their own characters to suit the office or minishing the office to suit themselves. The Nixon men, through the Watergate debacle, made their choice clear. CATHY SOETE

Sir / I feel sure that spying has been going on just as long as we have had two or more political parties. The only difference this time is that the men were caught. I have lost no faith in President Nixon.

CONNIE R. CHAPIS Denton, Md

Sir / I am dying to know all about Watergate and the Pentagon papers, but then I was dving to know all about Chappaquid-

CAROL W. FETTY Newport Beach, Calif.

The Energy Crisis

Sir / I commend TIME for its excellent treatment of our world's worsening energy sit-uation [May 7]. A significant and commend-

TIME, MAY 21, 1972

Great Experiment!

Allstate invites you on a little excursion that could save you some money on your Homeowners Insurance.



when you're going to Sears to buy some tools or something, slip your present homeowners insurance policy in your pocket.



Drop it off at the Allstate booth at Sears, and go on about your shopping. While you're gone, we'll compare *your* homeowners policy with Allstate's.

3. When you return,

you may be pleasantly surprised! Maybe we can save you some money. That's one reason why half of the

people who buy Allstate Homeowners Insurance have switched to us from other companies.

Allstate You're in good hands.

Check us.
Maybe we can save
you some money.

LETTERS

able step to promote consumer awareness and understanding was your recent Nassau conference, which brought together politicial, business and environmental leaders. Perhaps the most difficult task ahead is to undertake informed and intelligent discusion to arrive at solutions to our energy and environmental problems.

JENNINGS RANDOLPH U.S. Schator, West Virginia Washington, D.C.

Controversial Encounters

Sir / You presented an adversary's point of view on the controversial subject of "hazardous" encounters [April 30].

Encounter is a humanizing way of relating, enabling people to change and learn by having them take responsibility for themselves, focus on feelings, and engage in feedback. Encounter is relevant to the development of creativity; it can help people who live and/or work together get along feetive way of dealing with social conflict; and it can also serve as a model for all human relations.

S. RICHARD SAUBER Boston

Sir / I appreciated your article on the questionable merit of various shadowy encounter-therapy programs. It is important that laymen be informed that techniques such as Daniel Carsiel's simply break down the patient's psychological balance and result in no constructive, interarted experience.

However, the comparison of encounter groups with Arthur Janov's primal therapy is completely out of order. The primal patient is directed to specific feelings and is aided by the therapist to integrate the experience, so as not to become subject to unconnected. dangerous, psychologically damaging feelings.

DAVID GRANT SVOBODA Omaha

Israel as Miracle

Sie / The fact that Irasel has "grown and prospered," though aurounded by enemies, is not, as you described it, "something of a miscale," [April 30], Israe's continued of posperity is intend a result of the successful molecular property in the second p

Jeddah, Saudi Arabia

Sir / People must realize that the Israeli attack on the Arabs is justified by the fact that one of the Arabs ingo goals is to demolish Israel. How can a country strive to survive without some means of counterattack. After all, the Arabs attacked Israel to begin with. Should such a tiny country not fight back?

BRAD STONES

Sir / All kinds of good things might happen in the next 25 years. Lebanon, Jordan and Israel could agree to harness common rivers for electric power and irrigation. Egypt and Israel build a trans-Sinai railway from Tel Aviv to Cairo. All the nations of the Fertile Crescent join in a Middle East Common Market. Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Libva each contribute one-half of 1% of oil revenues toward the education and resettlement of Palestinian refugees.

Syria could help finance a Disney World on the Golan Heights and Iraq and Algeria face each other in a super soccer stadium at Sharm el Sheikh, Yassir Arafat could retire on a pension, Anwar Sadat take a job as headwaiter in a kosher restaturant, and Colonel Gaddafi mount his white camel and ride off into the desert forever.

So why not? The first 5,733 years are the hardest.

STANLEY SCHWARTZ New York City

Derogatory Term

Sir / You quoted Father Pedro Arrupe, Superior General of the Society of Jesus, as saying "When we send a man to China, he becomes a Chinaman" [April 23]. Doesn'the know "Chinaman" is a con-

temptuous and derogatory term, which is resented by the Chinese people?

Pacific Grove, Calif.

■ Father Arrupe used the word "Chinese."

TIME mistakenly used the word "Chinaman" and had no intention of offending.

Sex and Mao

Sir / Regarding your article "Sex and Mus at Princeton" [April 30]. I was sorry to note that you seem to have misread the interest of the property of the property of the as myopically as Mr. Buckley. The booklet does denounce birth control, but not birth control as we know it, through control through such methods as India's youluntary" (i.e., paid) sterilization by surgery, a practice that was used as a mental defectiveness in some states in play

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Opposition to such practices is not
Maoist—it is humane.

CHRISTOPHER SEYMOUR ('76) Princeton, N.J.

Intelligent Signals

Sir / This is about your very interesting article "Message from a Star" [April 9] concerning possible communications from beyond the solar system.

I would like D.A. Lunan to know that in 1920 Guglielmo Marconi told my father, Admiral Count Millo, that he was sure he had intercepted intelligent signals from out of space on the radio station of his yacht

At that time there were no other radio stations on earth, except the ones Marconi had started in England and North America and the one on his yacht.

nd the one on his yacht.

(MRS.) MATILDE MILLO DI SUVERO
Mill Valley, Calif.

It Won't Work

Sir / Reader Beatrice Neal is right, of course, in her assertion that Cool is the keystone to the understanding of the universe stone to the understanding of the universe meaningless / April 30/l, for it is precisely to fill this vacuum that man devised the concept of God in the first place. But try to cacept of God in the first place. But try to cacept of God in the first place. But try to cabelieving in Santa Claus again; it won't work, and I suggest we search elsewhere to cure the mass hysteria afready enveloping to the control of the control

EMIL R. PERNSTEINER San Francisco

The Greatest Game

Sir / You ask why baseball survives [April 30]. Is it because baseball does not require over violence or reseated scoring to keep the true fan alert? Is it because hitting a baseball—a 100-m.p.h. fastball with a "hop," a curve that drops 2 ft., or a knuck-leball that defies description—is the single most difficult feat required in all sports?

More likely some grand combination of these and others. But it doesn't matter. The game survives simply because there are fans worthy of it.

Confined to watching rugby, soccer and cricket, I find that the Greatest Game is the piece of Americana I miss most.

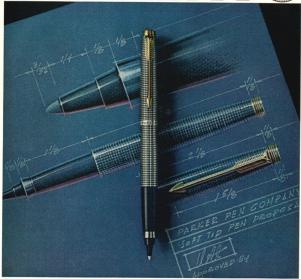
LUTHER R. LEWIS

Peace Corps Volunteer Mandeville, Jamaica

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as saving money. It's that simple.

There's comething also people like with

There's something else people like with their economy. A large helping of fun.

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With standard equipment like a 1968cc overhead cam engine, four-on-the-floor, radial tires, hood vents, racing stripes, tachometer, woodgrain accents, reclining bucket seats, carpeting, clock, and even a radio. (Now that's fun.)

So if you're tired of the same old line, remember Toyotas come in different shapes. We think you may decide it's the shape of things to come.

See how much car your money can buy.

TOYOTA



The \$793.80 surprise!

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Used all-aluminum cans are worth as much as \$200 a ton. Unfortunately, many communities are just throwing them away, and that's what Alcoa thinks ought to be stopped.

There's not another beverage packaging material quite like aluminum. Only aluminum has all these things going for it: it's lightweight, chills quickly, keeps things fresh, opens with a snap, has high scrap value and can be recycled repeatedly, It's plentiful, too

When you recycle aluminum, you save energy. It takes only 5 percent as much energy to recycle aluminum as it takes to make it the first time. Recycling aluminum, then, is very practical. And possible.

In 1970, Alcoa started a "Yes We Can" campaign to reclaim all-aluminum cans in the San Diego and Dallas-Fort Worth areas. Since then, over 200 million cans have been reclaimed for recycling in those cities alone.

Alcoa will pay as much as \$200 a ton

to any community reclamation center for all the used aluminum cans they can collect. We'll pay it because aluminum is a practical packaging material to recycle.

Alcoa would like to tell you how one community established its collection center.

Write for our brochure. We'll also send you a list of America's aluminum can reclamation centers.

Aluminum Company of America, 818-E Alcoa Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219.

Aluminum: Pass it on MALCOA

The score: Avis 7, Hertz 0, one tie.

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THE NATION

AMERICAN NOTES

McCarthy's Ghost

One of the strangest accusations in the Watergate scandal is the charge that the press has been guilty of "McCarthyism." Joe's unhappy ghost was raised most insistently by Wisconsin's William Proxmire, who inherited McCarthy's Senate seat and who has privately stated that he thinks President Nixon is "up to his ears" in the Watergate mess. Said Proxmire: the secondhand press accounts of what White House Counsel John W. Dean III told federal investigators represent a "McCarthyistic destruction of the President." Vice President Spiro Agnew followed with an attack on the publication of anonymous "hearsay" as "a very short jump from McCarthyism.

Similar theorems has published a number of Watergale disclosures—plainly labeled as secondhand—that would not be accepted under the rules of evidence in a court of law. But the press has no power to subpoen a witnesses or to compel testimony for, for that matter, to imprison its targets. If a reporter gets information from a reliable source who missts on anonymity be has no choice but to preserve that anonymity. When the tries to check an accusation with the official involved, that official is free to the proposed of the second some

All this is a long jump indeed from Joe's irresponsible guerrilla tactics back in the days when McCarthyism was a kind of Washington swamp fever. He dealt in false allegations that various public officials (and distinguished private citizens too) were either Communists or dupes of Communism. He attacked not just alleged Communists but also their colleagues, friends and relatives. He almost never seriously tried to check facts. Finally, he was backed by a whole apparatus of secret interrogations and blacklists by which a victim could be deprived of reputation and livelihood without any chance to defend himself. The term McCarthvism should be used with precision-as a synonym for nothing less than demagoguery and deceit.

A Thought on Watergate

Some of the men involved in the scandal might do well to ponder this quotation from George Bernard Shaw: "Power does not corrupt men; fools, however, if they get into a position of power, corrupt power."

All Clear, Comrades?

Resident Russian correspondents in at least three East European capitals, Warsaw, Bucharest and Belgrade, have a pet theory about the Watergate affair, which is both unintentionally amusing as a bit of Byzantine fantasy and also revealing about the paranoia that still often underlies the Soviet view of the world. The theory goes like this:

"Reactionary elements" in the American Government, ruling circles and hig business have been bitterly opposed to Richard Nixon's policy of rapprochement with the Soviet Union. They were galled by his for the Control of the Control of the creased trade—but the final straw is the planned visit by Leonid Brezhnev to the U.S. next month. So they have got together and cooked up the Watergate scandal in order to discredit Nixon and ablonge his policy toward

One incredulous American reporter's comment on this scenario: "Then how come it's been liberal newspapers and politicians leading the attack on Nixon, if the whole thing is a plot by the reactionaries?" The Russian comeback: "Look at Barry Goldwater, You call him a liberal? Wasn't he one of the first to talk about impeachment?"

And so it goes. Auld Lana Syne

One of the week's few really engaging news items, permitting escape from Watergate, involves Douglas Stewart McKelvy, a Yale man who liked his liquor, his fellow topers and his own boozy sense of humor. When he died on March 14 of a liver ailment, at age 41, he left a will that extended his benevolence, posthumously, to all three. Along with bequests to his two children, he donated \$6,000 to each of two favorite East Side Manhattan bars "to defray the cost of liquid refreshments for their patrons until such sums shall be exhausted." A millionaire by inheritance ("He didn't do anything," says one drinking crony), McKelvy laid down no rules about how his money should be spent, whether on friends or strangers, regular customers or freeloaders. The manager at one bar, Gregory's Corner, has decided to start a guest book and to admit only the regulars to any party he throws with the gift. "That's a lot of booze, a lot of pouring," he says. "We don't want to throw open the doors. In a little place like this, the money could be forever.





Above: President Nixon at Republican fund-raising dinner; below: With Agnew at G.O.P. dinner; right: Business as usual at White House swearing-in.

Trying to Govern as the Fire Grows Hotter

Let me remind you that the finest steel has to go through the hottest fire.

DRESIDENT NIXON used that selfreassuring image last week at a White House staff meeting. The next day, he repeated it at a Cabinet meeting. It so inspired him that he repeated it once again at a Republican fund-raising dinner. Nixon and his far from steely Administration desperately needed reassurance: the fire kept getting hotter, and at times it seemed to be out of control. The dominant question each day was: What next?

Former Attorney General John Mitchell, once Nixon's closest political adviser, was indicted for perjury and conspiracy to defraud; so was Nixon's chief campaign fund raiser, former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans. The arduously prepared prosecution of Daniel Ellsberg for leaking the Pentagon papers was dismissed because of Government wiretapping, burglary and other misconduct.

It also turned out that the CIA had provided the tools and disguises used in raiding the office of Ellsberg's former psychiatrist, and that approval of their use had come from General Robert Cushman, then deputy head of the CIA and now Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps. For years the American left had drawn a picture of the U.S. spied on by a sort of combined super CIA-FBI dominated by lawless and hidden money. Once dismissed as paranoid fantasies, such visions now acquired a touch of nightmarish truth.

Washington talked of little else. At a luncheon given by Pat Nixon for Senators' wives, the topic was discussed in muted voices, for the Watergate conspirators had sabotaged several Democratic Senators' presidential campaigns. Comedians performing in the capital were egged on to do Watergate routines. Audiences hooted at a parody of Nixon's re-election slogan: more years-with two off for good behavior." More ominously, there was open speculation, in print as well as in conversation, about the President's being impeached or having to resign. Even Nixon's bitterest foes dreaded the prospect, if only because it would mean President Spiro Agnew. Congressman Henry Reuss, a liberal Democrat, made a rather fantastic proposal for the resignations of both Nixon and Agnew.

The once awesome facade of presidential power was eroding. Congress, strengthened by the Watergate revelations, began asserting its authority. For the first time, the House rebelled against the President's Viet Nam policies. By 219 to 188, it voted to cut off funds for the continued bombing of Cambodia. The Administration announced that it would continue to bomb anyway, using contingency funds appropriated earlier.

Betrayed. In the Senate, which will open its televised Watergate hearings this week, the Judiciary Committee subjected Attorney General-designate Elliot Richardson to sharp questioning about his appointment of a special prosecutor for Watergate. The issue: Would Richardson or the prosecutor be ultimately responsible? The Senators may very well hold up Richardson's appointment until they are satisfied that the special prosecutor will be truly independent. In an attempt to reassure the Senate, Richardson declared: "I am among those Republican officeholders who feel betrayed by the shoddy display of morals by people whose activities have recently come to light."

Trying to govern in the midst of the crisis, trying to fill the gaping holes caused by the resignation of ten officials involved in Watergate, the President made a series of major new appointments (see chart following page). Either unwilling or unable to bring in outsiders, the President kept reshuffling familiar and trusted figures-some of whom had only recently been reassigned and had just begun to master

their new jobs.

A big boost to White House morale was provided by the return of John Con-nally, former Treasury Secretary and prospective presidential candidate. who, though rumored to be the next Sec retary of State, agreed only to join the White House as an unpaid, untitled adviser. Taking leave from his Houston law practice. Connally plans to spend at least three days a week at the White House, working initially on the reorganization of the staff, energy policy, and wage and price controls. "I'm here to help," the newly converted Republican drawled. "I'll devote as much time as may be needed, and I'll arrange my calendar accordingly.

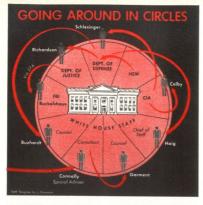
The President's other major appointments:

▶ James R. Schlesinger, 44, who was named director of the CIA only three months ago, to become Secretary of Defense. Nixon's first choice was David Packard, who had earlier served as Deputy Secretary of Defense, but Packard was reluctant to return to the pressures of Washington, Schlesinger, a proven administrator with few political ties, inspired ardent loyalty among his staffers when he directed the Atomic Energy Commission during Nixon's first term. At the CIA, he had begun a reduction in cloak-and-dagger operations. but he leaves that task unfinished.

▶ William E. Colby, 53, replaces Schlesinger at the CIA. A professional intelligence expert, Colby has worked for the CIA since 1951, keeping what colleagues call a very low profile. Moving to Viet Nam in 1959, he eventually took charge of all CIA operations there, later defending them before a congressional investigating committee. His promotion is said to represent a new policy of assigning more top jobs to Government career men

J. Fred Buzhardt Jr., 49, general counsel of the Defense Department, moves to the White House to work in conjunction with Watergate investigators, thus freeing Acting Counsel Leonard Garment to assume the duties previously performed by the ousted John Dean, From 1958 to 1966, Buzhardt served as an aide to Senator Strom Thurmond. Shifting to Defense in 1970, he turned down a request by G.





Gordon Liddy to take a peek at the department's files on Daniel Ellsberg. Clear it with the Justice Department first, said Buzhardt, showing more independence and sense than numerous other bureaucrats.

As he reshuffled his Administration, Nixon also decreed a new atmosphere at the White House. After months of trying to centralize all decision making, or trying to centralize all decision making. "It doesn't mean we are abandoning use "It doesn't mean we are abandoning user that the state of the state o

iting from the vanished H.R. Haldeman, Haig instructed them not to issue too many orders to department and agency heads. "Let's be sure those fellows who have the responsibility for making decisions have enough latitude to do so," Haig said.

The once isolated White House stafers were encouraged to get around more—see Congressmen, see newsmen. William Timmons' congressional liaison staff is to be increased. Reporters accustomed to being shunned or rebuked found their phone calls were being returned and appointments scheduled.

The fallen, meanwhile, were keeping up a brave front. "I'm enjoying my freedom," Ehrlichman told TIME. "I really like these shorter days. I have time at home, time for my kids." And

WILLIAM COLBY

even time for tennis. What of his future if he is exonerated? "We are just taking one day at a time."

So does the White House as it begins to attend to the nation's business again. Some of its activity is mere flack-ery; many of the federal departments have been asked to supply news of accomplishments in order to offset Watergate. "We've been getting hysterical House," says an Administration publicity man. "But we just don't have anything to give them."

The White House domestic council is cranking up again under the supervision of Ehrlichman's replacement, Kenneth Cole. Staffers have resumed work on proposals for Congress on revenue sharing and energy policy. Last week Nixon spent four hours with Cole discussing revisions of the bill to set up an independent corporation to handle guerntees for the poor. Next week properties of the poor. Next week properties of the poor congress for a bipartisan commission on dectioncampaign reforms.

Üp on His Feet. There is evidence that Nison has till not grasped the magnitude of Watergate. At the funercal Republican fund-raising dinner, which had been scheduled long before and could not be put off tas Barry Goldwater and other Republican stalwarts proposed), he tried to speak as though Watergate were behind him. We are scheduled to be the scheduled to cident to deter us of other could going forward toward achieving [our] great goals, "he told the party faithful.

His White House aides, some of them recent appointees, spread the word that the President had bounced back. "He is up on the balls of his feet," said one staffer. "There is no sense that Watergate is over, but the terrain has been defined and there is no longer that awful uncertainty about the future."

That was clearly an exaggeration.

The President's future is indeed uncerian. It is true that some of the men whom Nixon is appointing and relying on are, for all their familiarity, several cuts above the ones that have been dropped. They may be able to save thin from his worst impulses, so assistioussly encouraged by the departed palace guard. Optimists are talking about Nixons "third term" now that Watergate has depositshed so many of his secondhas depositshed so many of his second-

But the President has not even begun to cut through the country's suspicion that he was more deeply involved in Watergate than he has admitted. In watergate than he has admitted. In timon, not a great deal more evidence will be needed to involve him directly and to make his position nearly untended to the water of the presidence is not forth-subject to the water of the presidence in the presidence in the water of the

JAMES SCHLESINGER JOHN CONNALLY







TIME, MAY 21, 1973

A Guide: Who's Investigating What

THE Watergate drama shifts this week to the marble-pillared, chandelier-lit Senate Caucus Room, scene of the Teapot Dome investigation and the Army-McCarthy hearings. Such is the demand for seats that for the first time in Senate history tickets are being issued for the 200 public places.

With scores of witnesses due to testify, the hearings are expected to last until next fall-perhaps longer, depending on what the probe unearths. The committee comprises four Democrats and three Republicans chosen by the Senate leadership of both parties:

SAM J. ERVIN JR., 76, chairman, a Democrat from North Carolina, is perhaps more suited for the job than any other be prodded into serving on the committee. "I don't have the time nor the resources nor the inclination to be a private eye," he explains. Whatever Ervin does will be all right with Talmadge. LOWELL P. WEICKER JR., 42, first-term Republican Senator from Connecticut,

is the most controversial member of the committee. By conducting his own investigation of John Dean and others, he has run afoul of his fellow committee members, who have publicly reprimanded him. Primed for a vendetta against the White House guard, he may provide explosive moments before the

Most of the questioning will probably be done by the committee's chief

jury twelve days before the Watergate break-in last June, it has returned indictments against seven conspirators, all now convicted, and many more indictments are expected. A rather typical Washington jury-about two-thirds of its members are black and more than half are women-it began by passively following the guidance of Assistant U.S. Attorney Earl J. Silbert, but it soon developed an eagerness to interrogate witnesses under the lead of Foreman Vladimir Pregelj, a Yugoslav-born economist at the Library of Congress.

▶ The Federal Grand Jury in New York. Following up a long probe by the SEC, it began an investigation in late January of the \$200,000 contribution by Financier Robert Vesco to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President (C.R.P.). After last week's indictment of Vesco, John Mitchell, Maurice Stans and Harry L. Sears, it may hand up more indictments during its remaining six months. In other grand jury action, a federal panel in Orlando, Fla., has indicted G.O.P. Operative Donald Segretti for distributing a phony letter on Edmund Muskie's stationery accusing Hubert Humphrey and Henry M. Jackson of sexual misconduct

▶ The General Accounting Office. Charged with reporting violations of the 1971 campaign-spending act, the congressional watchdog has taken numerous complaints to the Justice Depart-



member of the Senate. His political ambitions behind him, he is respected for his fairness and for an understanding of constitutional issues that he gained from service on the North Carolina Supreme Court

HOWARD H. BAKER JR., 47, ranking Republican member, is a moderate conservative from Tennessee who still has political ambitions (he has twice tried to gain the Senate G.O.P. leadership). Working closely with Ervin, he will try to get at the truth without alienating his fellow Republicans

EDWARD J. GURNEY, 59, first Republican to be elected to the Senate from Florida since Reconstruction, is a loyal supporter of the Nixon Administration. If the Democratic members get too rough on the White House, he can be counted on to set them straight.

DANIEL K. INOUYE, 48, Democrat from Hawaii, is assistant majority whip. A combat veteran who lost his right arm in World War II, he is likely to be one of the most aggressive interrogators JOSEPH M. MONTOYA, 57, Democrat

from New Mexico, served eight years in the House before he was elected to the Senate in 1964. Not a Senate power, he is likely to follow Ervin's lead. HERMAN E. TALMADGE, 59, a Georgia Democrat, is a plain-spoken, eigarchomping Senate veteran who had to



COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN SAM ERVIN WITH VICE CHAIRMAN HOWARD BAKER AT THE CAPITOL

counsel, Samuel Dash, 48, who heads a staff of 39. Dash's credentials are impeccable: he served as a district attorney in Philadelphia, teaches law at Georgetown, and wrote a book on electronic surveillance, The Eavesdroppers. Working alongside him is Chief Minority Counsel Fred D. Thompson, a scourge of moonshiners as a federal prosecutor in Tennessee

So extensive is the Watergate scandal, so complex is it in detail that it has inspired several other investigations, all operating more or less simultaneously:

► The Federal Grand Jury in Washington. Convened as a routine grand

ment and given them wide publicity. Justice has levied a total of eight fines of \$1,000 each against C.R.P.

► The U.S. Justice Department. Initially, Attorney General Richard Kleindienst and Henry Petersen, chief of the Criminal Division, ordered the FBI not to track down the sources of the campaign contributions that financed Watergate. But as the scandal has widened and pressures have built, both the FBI and federal prosecutors have been given a freer hand. The FBI is currently checking into several angles, including the Los Angeles break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

The Inquest Begins: Getting Closer to Nixon

The defendants unlawfully, willfuljund knowingly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree together and with each other to commit offenses against the United States ... to defraud the United States and agencies thereof

...interfering with and obstructing lawful governmental functions by deceit, craft, trickery and means that are dishonest.

THE words of accusation were almost brutal in their bluntness. But now they were hurled, not by some unnamed mess source or unspecified Government investigator, but by a federal grand jury ments. They were directed not at some shadows spooks and wiretappers with unfamiliar names, but at two of the most prominent and influential former members of Richard Nixon's Administration. Autorney General John N. Maurice H. Stammentee Secretary

Thus, in a separate case, but one clearly related to Watergate, the first high officials stood formally accused. So far the criminal charges against them did not directly bear on Watergate, but they obviously reflected the amorality and the many connecting offenses. Obvious the many connecting offenses. Obvious the many connecting offenses. Obvious the control of the connection of the control of the control

Mitchell and Stans became the first former Cabinet officials accused of a crime since the Teapot Dome oilfieldleasing scandal of 50 years ago.* They

*The only other former Cabinet members ever indicted for a crime were Secretary of Interior Albert B. Fall and Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, both because of Teapot Dome.



MITCHELL AFTER INDICTMENT Justice obstructed.

stand charged with being so eager to secure campaign contributions for the reelection of President Nixon that they used their great influence to help a financier, Robert L. Vesco, in his deep troubles with the Government. Then they tried repeatedly to conceal the fact that Vesco had contributed \$200,000 in cash to the Nixon re-election committee (see box page 18).

Formally, the indictments charge Mitchell and Stans with conspiring to obstruct justice, conspiring to defraud the U.S., and perjury. Each man is accused of lying six times to the grand jury, which had been meeting in Manhattan for three months on the Vesco matter. Announcing the indictments in a halting voice, U.S. Attorney Whitney North Seymour Jr., a devoted Republican who was appointed by Nixon when Mitchell headed the Justice Department, declared: "I regard this as a sad day in a series of sad days for those concerned about integrity in the administration of justice."

Crossfire, Indeed it was. More than any other person in Nixon's official familv. Mitchell had symbolized the Administration's dedication to stern law enforcement and its opposition to any coddling of criminals by soft judges. Nixon's most intimate confidant as a law partner and campaign manager, he was the man Nixon had selected to become Attorney General after declaring to cheers in his 1968 speech accepting the Republican Party's presidential nomination: "If we are going to restore order and respect for law in this country, there is one place we are going to begin: we are going to have a new Attorney General

Even more than Mitchell, Maurice Stans represented the inner establishment of the Republican Party, having served as a major G.O.P. link with corporations and businessmen back through the Elsenhower Administration, in which he was Director of the Budget. Stans became Nixon's Comparison of the Compar

The indictments are, of course, yet to be tested under the crossfire of questioning in courts. Both men issued sharp denials of any wrongdoing and expressed confidence that the judicial process will clear them of all guilt. But the charges (which carry possible, although highly unlikely sentences of up to 50 years in prison) may be only the first prison that we have the course of the prison that the word of the prison of the prison that the two former Cabinet members.

Both Mitchell and Stans have been deeply implicated in the Watergate scandal itself and are under investigation by the federal grand jury in Washington that is probing the affair. Stans was the Nison moneyman whose bountiful safe financed the actual burglary and wiretapping of Democratic National Headquarters in the Watergate and Inside the conspirators with hush money to cover up White House innished the conspirators with hush money to cover up White House involvement in that illegal eaved/orpping. Mitchell, who has reversed earlier denials and admitted attending metals and and sufficient of the conspiration of the converse of the constitution of the conwill almost certainly be indicted by the Washington jury.

Mitchell and Stans will also be called before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, headed by North Carolina Senator Sam Ervin Jr., which is scheduled to begin its televised public hearings this Thursday. They may well turn out to be not only one of the most absorbing and significant the most preserve expension of the properties of the propert

The week before the hearings brought an unrelenting succession of new reports and revelations which the committee will have to consider. Among the most sensational:

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FORMER SECRETARY STANS





The Tools of Watergate

THE arrested Watergate burglars were well equipped with spying and break-in gear, as shown by the tools and papers confiscated from them by Washington police. Among the items seized, counterclockwise from lower right: metal mouthpiece that disguises the voice when speaking on the telephone; Social Security card with

phony name, used by Conspirator E. Howard Hunt Jr.; tape, screwdriver, pliers, flashlight and other burglar's tools. Lower left: phone numbers found on a Watergate conspirator listing Hunt's White House number. This was one of the primary clues that led

police to trace the break-in plot to the White House.

but he also ignored the warning of the nation's highest police official

▶ John W. Dean III, the President's counsel who was abruptly fired by Nixon on April 30, contends that the President asked him to sign a resignation and a confession that he, Dean, alone had tried to conceal the White House involvement in Watergate. Dean refused Moreover, he insists that he never gave Nixon a report that cleared all of his aides of involvement. That would make an outright lie of Nixon's press-conference statement of last Aug. 29 that Dean's investigation had produced such a conclusion-unless someone above Dean had misled the President.

► Convicted Wiretapper James W. McCord Jr. contends that unnamed high officials urged that the defendants in the Watergate wiretapping case claim that the operation was directed and authorized by the Central Intelligence Agency. Attorneys handling the case felt that top CIA officials would maintain "a discreet silence" and would go along with this defense.

▶ Before the Government's case against Pentagon Papers Defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo was thrown out of court (see page 28), unnamed Justice Department officials said that Nixon twice in the past three weeks had tried to keep the department from informing Judge William Matthew Byrne Jr. that the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist had been broken into by covert agents operating on orders from people in the White House. Nixon reluctantly agreed to pass along this information only after high Justice Department officials repeatedly advised him that the Los Angeles court had every right to know.

▶ TIME has traced the missing records of FBI wiretaps, including the interception of a Daniel Ellsberg conversation in 1971 that contributed to the dismissal of the Pentagon papers case. On the orders of Robert C. Mardian, then an Assistant Attorney General, the records were taken from the files of FRI Chief J. Edgar Hoover by one of his deputies, William Sullivan, and turned over to Mardian. They went from Mardian to the White House office of John Ehrlichman, chief domestic affairs adviser. Whether they were destroyed, which would be a criminal offense, or are still in the White House is not known. TIME also learned that summaries of the conversations picked up by these taps, which were on the telephones of some newsmen and Administration officials, were sent by the FBI to the office of H.R. Haldeman, White House chief of staff.

▶ The Watergate contamination spread ever more widely as it was revealed that-in response to requests from White House officials—the CIA and the State Department had helped Convicted Wiretapper E. Howard Hunt Jr. carry out covert activities. These involved either the investigation of Ellsberg or the fabrication of cables falsely implicating President John Kennedy in the assassination of South Viet Nam's

President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963. To sift these and other conflicting claims of guilt, innocence and complicity, the Ervin committee intends to begin in a low-key, methodical manner. The first witness will be Robert C. Odle Jr., Director of Administration for the Nixon re-election committee, who will describe how the committee was set up and operated. Next will be one of the policemen who discovered the five men hiding sheepishly behind a desk in an office at Democratic headquarters at 2 a.m. on June 17. Then some of the convicted conspirators will tell their now-familiar stories of how and why they bugged, burgled and bungled. Another early witness will be Sally Harmony, secretary to Convicted Wiretapper G. Gordon Liddy. She will tell about

typing summaries of the illegally intercepted Democratic conversations.

The most compelling early witness will be Convicted Conspirator McCord. His sensational charges that high officials had ordered the wiretapping, then paid the arrested men to plead guilty and keep quiet, helped break the case wide open. Some of his charges have since been at least partly corroborated by others who have testified to the grand jury or Senate investigators.

Probably the next most volatile early witness will be Hugh Sloan Jr., who was treasurer of the Nixon re-election committee at the time of the wiretapping. He has claimed that at least two higher officials urged him to lie to the grand jury about payments to the Watergate conspirators. The officials, said Sloan in a sworn deposition, were Jeb Stuart Magruder, Nixon's deputy campaign manager, and Frederick LaRue. an assistant at the re-election committee. This happened within a few weeks of the Watergate arrests, Sloan claims. When he tried to warn John Ehrlichman about this, the President's adviser told him that he did not want to hear about it. Sloan says he also tried to tell Dwight Chapin, then Nixon's appointments secretary, but Chapin brushed him off, saying: "The important thing is to protect the President.

Perhaps weeks later will come the otentially explosive testimony of fired Counsel John Dean-if arrangements can be made by the Ervin committee to grant him some kind of immunity against prosecution in return for his story. Dean insists that he can directly implicate Nixon in the massive cover-up that followed the Watergate break-in. That may put such later and climactic witnesses as ousted White House Aides Ehrlichman and Haldeman even more on the defensive. Also late in the order of witnesses are Stans and Mitchell.

The hearings, which will be held in

THE NATION

Senate Caucus Room 318, the chamber in which the cleibrated Army-Mc-Carthy hearings unfolded in 1954, will hearing unfolded in 1954, will valuely of the President as a national leader. More than all of the rather limtic and ponderous movements of the courts, the wide-ranging freedom of the courts, the wide-ranging freedom of the President and his men. The Errio momittee is concerned not solely with criminal activity but also with the broader questions of protecting presitions of the president and his protecting president and his control of the protecting and president and his control of the protecting and president and his control of the protection of the president and his control of the protection of the president and his control of the president and the president and his control of the president and the president and his control of the president and the president and his control of the president and the president and his control of the president and the president and his control of the president and the presiden

while the Army-McCarthy hearing all but destroyed the wildscaping Wisconsin Senator—as much by the exposure of his whining, bullying manner ("Point of order, point of order") as by the revealation of his methods as by the revealation of his methods whole Nison Administration. Errish has suggested that he might even summon the President himself to testify; if need be, to get at the truth. With typical unroll with his point of the properties of the properties

What clearly is shaping up is an epic test of credibility in which the central issue will be whether Nixon can politically survive. The President's closest aides, Ehrlichman and Haldeman, will almost certainly proclaim Nixon's total ignorance of any Watergate coverup. In the process, they will be insisting upon their own innocence as well. Standing against them will be John Dean, who will argue that the other three are still conspiring to avoid disclosure of the full truth.

Dean's word, of course, must be treated with caution, since his personal stake is high. He is maneuvering for the broadest kind of immunity against prosecution, and may be trying to favorably influence any later criminal trial of his own. Yet it seems unlikely that Dean would enter into a showdown with the mould enter into a showdown with the nition. Indeed, his recent record for revealing unpleasant truths is impressive.

'We Can't." It was Dean who first told Justice Department prosecutors in the Watergate case that there had been a White House-directed burglary of psychiatric records in the Ellsberg case. It also was Dean who informed the prosecutors that there had been meetings in Attorney General Mitchell's office at which plans for the Watergate bugging were discussed. First mentioned by Mc-Cord, these meetings were mere hearsay until Dean confirmed that he had been present at them, along with Mitchell, Liddy and Magruder. Dean's revelations caused Magruder to admit that he had lied to the grand jury

A close associate of Dean's has given TIME the following account of Dean's position in the White House infighting over the scandal. Some of the points have also been backed by his lawvers. Their story: Dean never made an investigation for the President that showed that no one then "presently employed" by the White House had been involved in Aug. 29. Dean can produce his office logs for the period. He and his attractive wife Maureen have been working into the right his gather this evidence ords give no indication that he filed such a report and will substantiate Dean's claim that he did not even meet with Nroon between the Watergate arrests

In March Dean was called into Nixon's office, where the President gave him two papers and asked him to sign them. One was a virtual confession that Dean alone in the White House had concealed facts in the Watergate case. The other was his resignation.

"What about Ehrlichman and Haldeman?" Dean asked the President.

"They have given verbal assurance [that they were not part of a cover-up]," Nixon replied.

Dean then said that he would not sign any such papers unless the other two aides would do so as well. Dean told the President: "We can't do this. The whole truth has to get out."

The President then directed Dean to draft his own letter of resignation and show it to him. Dean, still resisting, later returned to Nixon's office and said he could not do this. "Nixon was mad," Dean claims. The President told

It Started with \$200,000 in a Worn Briefcase



BIG CONTRIBUTOR ROBERT L. VESCO

THE accusations raised in the grand jury indictments of John Mitchell and Maurice Stans—along with a notorious financial freebooter and a leading New Jersey Republican—form a sleazy story that might well give pause to even the most hardened ward heeler.

At the heart of the matter is the secret Nixone campaign contribution of \$200,000 in eash that was paid to Stam \$1,000 in eash that was paid to Stam determents assert that Mitchell and Stam reciprocated by adding Vesco in his unsuccessful efforts to quash a Securities and Exchange Commission probe into complex. The go-between was Harry L. Sears, head of Nixon's re-lection drive in New Jerey, onetime Republican majority leader in the state's senate and complex. The gove commissed to the comtraction of the search of the comtraction of the search of the search of the complex. The government of the search of the investment of the search of the search of the complex. The government of the search of the s

Vesco early in 1971 also gained conrol of International Overseas Services, the mutual-fund complex founded by Bernard Corfield that marketed its shares mostly to middle-income Europeans. In one of the largest securityfraud suits ever brought by the SEC, Vesco and his associates were charged last Nov. 27 with selling off \$224 million worth of I.O.S.-held stocks—causing grave losses to investors—and salting the money away in banks and dummy companies that the accused controlled. Last week's indictments specify the following:

specify the following:
In mid-1971, Sean fire wear
In mid-1971 spin impeding the Sec
investigation. Sears approached Mitchell again in January 1972 to ask the Attorney General to arrange a meeting for
In with star. Chairman William Casey
Weston ent with Stans and offered to donate as much as \$500,000 to the Committee for the Re-Election of the Prestioner 15 stans and Mitchell would help
in restraining the Sea \$500,000 contribution—in cash.

Vescodrew the money out of a bank in the Bahamas (probably some of the cash he had stashed there after selling IO.S. stocks belonging to trusting investors). He did not get around to handing it over until three days after a new and much tougher campaign-contribution law went into effect. requiring the public reporting of any donation larger than \$100.

On the morning of April 10 Sears flew from New York City to WashingDean that the young counsel must "shoulder the burden" and that there was to be no full "airing." Moreover. Haldeman and Ehrlichman would stay on his staff. It was then that Dean decided that the other three-Nixon, Haldeman and Ehrlichman-were trying to pin the entire cover-up on him. He issued his celebrated statement that he did not intend to become "a scapegoat" -and went to the Justice Department to talk to the prosecutors.

Dean also took a more concrete sten to protect himself before he was fired: he carried away nine documents from his files and placed them in a safe de-posit box in Virginia's Alexandria National Bank, not far from where he lives. He gave the keys to Judge John J. Sirica, who had presided over the original Watergate trial and been the main force in pushing the case beyond the

low-level convictions Last week the White House filed a motion with Judge Sirica to have those documents returned. "We want the originals back. They're our papers, goddammit," said a White House official. He added: "If any one thinks that we're go-

ing to do anything sneaky, let the court hang on to a copy." Judge Sirica sched-uled a hearing for this week on what to do with the Dean documents. Yet at the same time, other Justice

Department authorities were knocking down the importance of those papers. The New York Times quoted one such official as saying that the papers are na-



tional security documents

that "have nothing to do

told the Times that Dean

cannot implicate the Pres-

ident in any way, adding:

"We have debriefed Dean

Dean contended in a state-

ment that unspecified per-

sons were waging a cam-

paign "to discredit me

personally in the hope of

concerted effort to 'get me.

Partly in response,

Another

SALLY HARMONY with anything."

from A to Z.



POREST ODLE





G. GORDON LIDDY

be prosecuted later, but Jus-E. HOWARD HUNT JR.

JAMES McCORD

discrediting my testimony. There is a All this is part of a complex battle over immunity. Dean is demanding a full-immunity "bath." under which he would tell everything he knows in return for the assurance that he cannot be prosecuted in any way. The Ervin committee is seeking a more limited

"use" immunity, under which he could

tice Department attorneys would have to show that any evidence they used against Dean was derived independently of his public testimony. The department is resisting any immunity at all for Dean. Nixon last week reversed his own blanket decree against immunity in the case, so any refusal to accommodate Dean is no longer

ton, carrying a worn brown briefcase loosely packed with \$200,000 in \$100 bills. The cash was turned over to Stans in his office at the Nixon committee. and he placed it in his safe (the same safe from which \$235,000 was later disbursed to G. Gordon Liddy, a convicted Watergate wiretapper). Vesco also gave \$50,000 by check, which was publicly reported. Later that very day, Mitchell arranged a meeting for Sears with Casey and G. Bradford Cook, who was then SEC general counsel and recently succeeded Casey as the commission's chairman. The express purpose was to discuss the commission's investigation of Vesco's company. Stans never reported the \$200,000 donation to the General Accounting Office as he was required to do under the law

Indeed the indictments charge that Stans took great pains to cover up the contribution. In the course of its investigations of Vesco the SEC began looking into why he had made the big withdrawal from the Bahamian bank. Stans went to Cook and persuaded him to delete from the draft of the SEC complaint against Vesco any reference to the money-and how it was used to help the Republican election campaign

Then, according to the indictments Mitchell got Presidential Counsel John W. Dean III to ask Casey to postpone subpoenaing employees of Internation-

al Controls Corp. "to prevent or delay disclosure by them of facts relating to the secret Vesco contribution." Despite denials of wrongdoing by Cook and Casey, who is now Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, there is a chance that they too will face legal charges for the cozy manner in which they handled the case.

The indictments say that by October, as the presidential election neared. Vesco was threatening that he would disclose the secret payment unless stiffer action was taken to delay or halt the SEC inquiry. Sears phoned Mitchell to pass on the threat. In November, presumably just before the election, Vesco sent a memorandum to Donald Nixon, the President's brother.* In the memo-Vesco again warned that he would reveal the details of the contribution unless all the SEC charges were dropped.

Finally, on Jan. 31, almost three months after Nixon's victory and two months after the SEC issued its fraud charges against Vesco, the re-election committee returned the money. Perhaps by coincidence, the Washington Star-News reported five days before that the Government had begun an investiga-

"Vesco had a penchant for attracting people close to President Nixon. Donald F. Nixon, the Pres-ident's nephew, has been Vesco's administrative assistant since 1971.

tion into the donation. The probe began when an unidentified witness came forward in Manhattan earlier in January and volunteered to U.S. Attorney Whitney North Seymour Jr. that he would tell about the transaction.

In their testimony before the grand jury, charge the indictments, Mitchell and Stans perjured themselves repeatedly. Mitchell, for example, denied that he got a memo from Sears asking to see Casey in January 1972, that he received a phone call from Sears warning that Vesco was threatening to talk, or that he asked Dean to see Casey about postponing subpoenas. Stans denied to the grand jury that he discussed with Vesco securing Mitchell's help, that he asked Vesco specifically for a cash donation, or that he discussed Vesco's case with him when the money was delivered Last week both Mitchell and Stans insisted that they were innocent.

As for Vesco, he has defied an order to appear before the grand jury, and a bench warrant was issued for his arrest. The SEC fraud suit is now before the courts; it seeks to halt further plundering from Investors Overseas Services. If this civil action is successful, the decision could well become the basis for a criminal suit against Vesco. Meanwhile. he is believed to be living in comfort in Costa Rica (see Business) and planning the President's sole responsibility. The angry argument reaches far beyond Dean. "There won't be any criminal cases if the witnesse go on TV and reel off their grand jury testimony." con- argues that such a wide dissemination of testimony would allow other defendants to claim that their criminal cases had been hopelessly prejudiced. It would also enable them to discover much of what probable actusing without the propare their defenses.

Senator Ervin, on the other hand, argues that "it's far more important to get the truth than to send someone to jail." He complains of the prosecutors: "They have had the case since last summer, and if they can't get enough evidence to convict somebody by this

time, they ought to go out of business."
That may be unfair. There were indications last week that the Watergate
grand jury is now speeding up its work,
possibly in an attempt to indict the most
important officials before they can give

last week from a most unlikely source: L. Patrick Gray. At the Senate hearings on his nomination as FBI director, Gray had conceded somewhat grudgingly that Dean had "probably lied" to the FBI in its Watergate investigations.

Yet Gray told Evin committee investigations. Yet Gray told Evin committee investigators that Nixon had to know that his aides were trying to cover up White House involvement because Gray had warned him about it last July, Gray's story, as reported by TiME Corresponsitory, as reported by TiME Corresponsitory.

dent Stanley Cloud

Within days of the arrests at the Watergate, Gray learned from his own agents that two of the arrested men, Hunt and McCord, had once worked for the CLA and that McCord was still employed by a Washington firm that had been used as a CLA front. Some of the other burglars also were found to have had CLA consections. The CLA to keep the Fist agents away from the question of CLA and White House involvement in Watergate.

After his agents complained about

tur: "Oh, Pat, you just keep pursuing your investigation aggressively. You're doing a fine job, Pat. Keep it up."

Gray softened the story considerably, however, when he was questioned by the staff of the Ervin committee. He said he was merely "confused" about the White House involvement in the investigation. The difference in the two stories was not explained.

There was other dismaying evidence that high White House aides had indeed been using the CIA for improper, if not self-protective purposes. The revelation two weeks ago that two of the White House-Watergate covert agents, G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt, had been equipped and aided by the CIA before burglarizing the office of Daniel Ellsberg's Los Angeles psychiatrist was confirmed last week by outgoing CIA Director James Schlesinger. As subcommittees in the House and Senate began investigating this apparent breach of the CIA's role, which by law is confined to foreign activities, Schlesinger testified that a telephone call from Ehrlichman had persuaded the CIA to cooperate with the burglars and to prepare a psychiatric profile on Ellsberg. Schlesinger described these acts as "ill-advised" and "beyond the normal activities of the agency." He said that steps have been taken to make sure they do not happen again.

Trigger. That may not saisfy the angry legislators. Schlesinger insisted that the CAr had no knowledge that the White House spooks were planning a domestic burglary, and that the agency had belatedly moved to cut off aid to them once the nature of their activities became clearer. But this unquestioned acquiescence to a White House phone call by the CAs seemed shocking. It was also a flagrant abuse of the agency by an answered—the vesting question of just what other secret activities the CIA has conducted within the U.S.

This automatic response to any White House request was also demonstrated by the State Department. In August 1971 it cooperated with Hunt after receiving a memo from the White House and two calls from David Young. an Ehrlichman assistant on detached service from Henry Kissinger's National Security Council staff. Young telephoned William B. Macomber Jr., then a Deputy Under Secretary of State. Macomber granted Hunt full access to the most secret "back-channel" communications (meaning only the addressee and sender should see them) between the State Department and its embassy in Saigon for a period in 1963. Hunt copied 240 of these classified cables.

According to sworn testimony by Hunt, he then examined the cables to determine whether there was any indication, as he hoped, that President John Kennedy had ordered the assassination of South Viet Nam's President Ngo Dinh Diem. Hunt said that this study was supervised by Charles Colson, then



FORMER WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL JOHN DEAN & WIFE MAUREEN IN WASHINGTON An impressive record for revealing unpleasant truths.

their testimony in public to the Ervin committee. Some indictments could come as early as this week. The most likely persons to be indicted include John Mitchell, John Dean, John Ehrlichman, Bob Haldeman, Jeb Magruder and Fred La Rue.

There is, of course, a need to protect the judicial process so that anyone who has broken laws will be fully prosecuted. Indeed, the general complaint against the Justice Department is that it originally did not seem at all determined to do just that. Yet there seems to be an overriding need for speedy exposure of the full truth, so that all of the remedial moves can be taken to restore public confidence in the Government. Dean's attorneys have said that they "are proceeding on the assumption that there is going to be an impeachment." They argue that Dean's testimony is too valuable to the investigation to be thrown away for the sake of convicting such a relative small fry

Support for Dean's position came

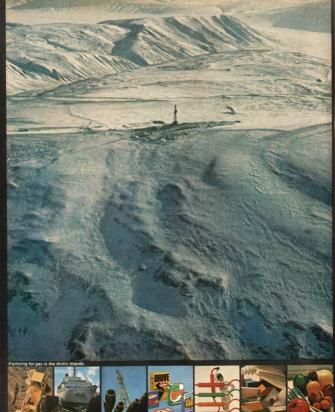
problems with the CIA and the White House, Gray schoduled a meeting with the then CIA Director Richard Helms, Of June 28, the 4d why of the meeting, according to Gray, the received a call from celed—an order Gray carried out. But, under continuing complaints from his agents, Gray called Nixon Campaign Director Clark MacGregor and reported that "a group of men around the data "and the control of the CIA Contro

The President then phoned Gray, ostensibly to express his appreciation for the FBI's successful effort to abort a Southwest Airlines skylacking in San Francisco. As Gray later explained to Senator Lowell Weicker, he decided then "to take the bull by the horns," the told the President: "You should know that the men around you are using the CIA and the FBI for their own purposes." According to Gray, Nixon ingored him, replying in a non sequi-

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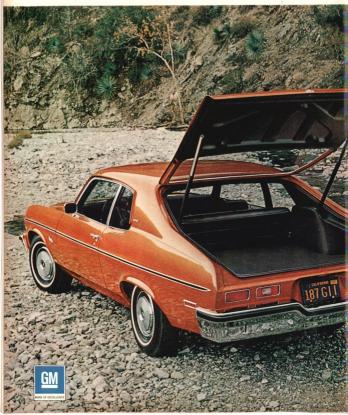
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It looks even nicer and rides even quieter.

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special counsel to Nixon. Hunt claimed that showed Colons one cables that could conceivably have been interpreted as implied orders from the Kennedy Administration to "pull the trigge regainst Diemi's head." According to Hunt. Colson declared. "Well, this isn't good enough. Do you think that you could improve on the Well, this isn't could be without the work of the Well of the We

To draft a cable that sounded authentic, Hunt said that he then used a White House Xerox machine, a razor blade and a typewriter. Because it lacked the proper type face, however, the knew it would not stand carreful scrutiny. He and Colson, Hunt testified, thereupon tried to convince a LIFE correspondent, William Lambert, that the cable was genuine. Lambert was impressed at first but later became doubtful and never wrote about it.

This kind of deceit spying and burglarizing—directed from within the White House—was an appalling abuse of presidential power. Just how much Nixon knew about any such activity is, of course, one of the central mysteries in the whole Watergate affair. At the least, all of these men expected that there would be no outrage from the Oval Office if their work was-or became-known at that high level.

Another intriguing puzzle is whether John Mitchell could have failed to tell Nixon everything he knew about the Watergate scandal well before it grew so threatening. The two men have long been close friends as well as political associates. They conferred often-and as equals-on matters beyond Mitchell's duties as Attorney General. He served in that post from early 1969 until March 1972, when he moved over to head the Nixon re-election committee. In both jobs Mitchell was one of the few people in Washington who, with a flick of his phone-dialing finger, could hurdle the White House "Berlin Wall" erected by Ehrlichman and Haldeman

Silly. Mitchell claims that he opposed the Watergate wiretapping plans each time that he heard about them. But his duty as chief law-enforcement officer was to have the planners arrested right there for compiring to commit crimes. Once the wiretapping commit crimes. Once the wiretapping commit with the planners are the planners are the above the wiretapping of the planners are she that Mitchell did not tell Nison at once precisely who had pushed the scheme—or that Nixon did not ask.

As the man who had earned the admiration of most top police officials because of his strong support of wiretapping, "no knock" entry in making arrests, and preventive detention of dangerous criminals while awaiting trial, Mitchell should have exposed all those he knew to have helped plot the crime. Instead, he publicly denied any advance knowledge of the affair, ridiculed the notion that the re-election

crime. Instead, he publicly denied any advance knowledge of the affair, ridiculed the notion that the re-election committee had anything to do with it and dismissed reports that he was personally implicated with a brusque: "The stories are getting sillier all the time."

Inst two weeks after the arrests.

of the Watergate burglars, however, Mitchell resigned as head of the committee with the explanation that his wife Martha wanted him to quit politics. Considering Martha's emotional state that politically the convincing. It would be a most uninusitive President indeed who did not ask his good friend whether that was the whole reason for quitting. Further, to present the political liability, and so he must leave.

Mitchell's fall from grace has been admitchell's fall from grace has been admitdle. Always outwardly serene but reflecting an inner toughness, he seemed oblivious to any kind of criticism. He brushed aside complaints by civil libertarians that many of his measures—including the mass May Day arrests of antiwar protesters in Washing.

The Misfortunes of Martha

"I've got one tongue and it works pretty well."

NLY three days after Martha witchell delivered those brave, perhaps defiant words during a Watergate deposition hearing, her tongue was stilled. Unable to sleep, distraught and unhappy, she put herself under doctors care and voluntarily entered a medical institution last week for treatment of a nervous breakdown.

Martha, the unrepressed Southern belle, once took great pride in the fact that John Mitchell—her second husband, whom she married in 1957—was one of Nixon's closest advisers. Martha delighted in sounding off against anyone to the left of William McKinley—Senator J. William filled: Tew took will be took to the state of this too seriously, for Martha had a certain wacky charm.

She kept unwontedly quiet when in June last year she accompanied John to California for fundr-aising appearances in his new post as head of Nixon's re-election campaign. Then came the Watergate break. In Mitchell flew back to Washington, leaving Martha at the Newporter Inn with Security Sector Sites, who was there supposedly to guard her. Martha waited for King to fall askep, then placed her famous phone call to U.J.I. Washington Re-

porter Helen Thomas. She got as far as threatening to leave Mitchell unless he quit the "dirty business" of politics. Then came the sounds of struggle, and he phone went dead. Martha later complained that she had been held down while being injected "in the bottom."

Martha's hysteria then was overt, but despite a certain amount of public skepticism, it turned out that her cries about official skulduggery had a solid basis in fact. The Mitchells made their peace, and John bought Martha a Fifth Avenue apartment, complete with gold bathroom fixtures, where she has kept herself busy since last fall selecting and arranging the furnishings.

In recent weeks, she has felt herself a prisoner; her apartment now is filled with flowers sent by reporters trying to curry favor. When a friend suggested going out for lunch, she retorted: where am I going to lunch with all this fuss?" Two weeks ago, Martha discussed with intimates the possibility of John's being indicted. She was worried, but she kept herself in check and made a rambling deposition in the Democrats civil suit. Though she showed remarkably good spirits, she once lost her tem-I have been at the mercy of the White House for four years, who have treated me abominably, half-crucified me, have sent lies out through the press and started rumors galore about me.

The pressure inside Martha mount-



MARTHA SURROUNDED BY NEWSMEN

ed for two days and finally crupted in another late-night phone call to Helen Thomas. While her twelve-year-old daughter Marty begged her not to talk, she said deliberately: "If my husband knew anything about the Watergate break-in, Mr. Nixon also knew about it. I think he should say goodbye, to give credibility to the Republican Party and to the United States. L think he let the country down. Mr. President should retire."

Next day John Mitchell issued a public statement berating U.P.I. for treating what Martha said as anything more than "fun and games." But Martha Mitchell obviously was, to the breaking point, totally in earnest.

THE NATION

ton in 1971—were part of a trend toward repression by the Government. Mitchell accurately enough accused the protesters of "bully ing people, shouting down those who disagreed with them," but he also venomously compared them with "Hitler's Brownshirts." He seemed unflustered when the U.S. Supreme Court last June declared some of his wiretapping orders unconstitutional.

Last week Mitchell was shaken by the indictments and looked years older than a few weeks ago. His voice trembed as he protested the grand jury's decision: "I can't imagine a more irresponsible action." I ronically, an often-cited Mitchell statement can only haunt flow. Defending the Nixon Administration, he told civil rights activistic in 1902. "Watch what we do instead of 1909." "Watch what we do instead of 1909."

Whether Nixon feels he has been be-

TRIALS

Pentagon Papers: Case Dismissed

HAVE decided to declare a mistrial and grant the motion to dismiss." With these 13 terse words, Judge Wiliam Matthew Byrne Jr. ended one of the most extraordinary legal—and in many ways, illegal—proceedings in the history of American justice.

By his ruling, the judge cleared Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo Jr., both of whom freely admitted that they had secrelly copied and leaked the Pentagon papers, of eight charges of espinage, six of theft and one of conspiracy. But since the case had never reached the jury, the two were not declared innocent by acquittal, nor had they been vindicated by their defense

that Ellsberg, then a consultant with the Rand Corp. "think tank" in Santa Monica, Calif., was copying parts of the Pentagon papers at night on a Xerox machine in an advertising-agency office.

At about the same time, President Nixon became incensed by various news leaks and ordered the FBI to stop them. As the bureau's just-appointed di-rector, William D. Ruckelshaus, now admits, the FBI failed in that mission; it did, however, set up a number of wiretaps without any court authorization. One of them was on the home phone of Morton Halperin, then a consultant for the National Security Council, and on that tap, the FBI heard some conversations by Ellsberg. Fully a year ago, Judge Byrne had demanded an account of all Government eavesdropping on Ellsberg, but Ruckelshaus disclosed the tap on Halperin only last week-and added the incredible news that all the tapes and logs of the overheard conversations had mysteriously disappeared from the files of both the FBI and the Department of Justice.

Valid Changes? All of these sensations-following the disclosures that the CIA had helped the Watergate raiders to break in to the offices of Ellsberg's former psychiatrist-took the trial far from its original purpose. The Government had been determined to prosecute Ellsberg and Russo as criminals. The defense was equally determined to raise the broadest legal and constitutional issues. Was a charge of espionage valid when the defendants had given no information to a foreign power? (Ellsberg had returned the actual papers to the Rand Corp. files.) Could theft be alleged when the culprits had stolen nothing but information? Could conspiracy be proved if, as many lawyers believe, the statute defining it is so loosely drawn as to be unconstitutional?

All these matters weighed heavily on Judge Byrne. Then, three weeks ago, the prospect that the case would end in a dismissal surfaced with Byrne's own disclosure that he had visited John Deltrichman, who had offered him the directorably of the directorably of the control of the directorably of the manufacture of the directorably of the control of the directorably of the control of the directorably of th

As disclosure followed disclosure, the courtroom air became filled with defense cries of "taint" and motions for mistrial and dismissal, but Byrne hesitated. He was troubled because there were no very direct precedents to guide him. Indeed there could hardly be any, since both the charges and the revelations of the Government's



DANIEL ELLSBERG & WIFE, JUROR & ANTHONY J. RUSSO JR.
The circumstances offended the sense of justice.

trayed by Mitchell in the Watergate affair or whether the two men confided fully in each other about the scandal all along is still their secret. In demanding that everyone who has any complictivity in Watergate be prosecuted fully. Nixon may well be hastening the day when Mitchell faces another legal ordeal. At for so may be all the second of the men is acute personal agony for both men is acute.

men is acute.

Richard Nitron pledged that his Richard Nitrope General. Bliot Richardson, and the special prosecutor Richardson has promised to appoint, will make sure that the guilty are punished. "They will get to the bottom of this thing." Nixon vowed. Yet in another sense, prosecutors and the cours got to the bottom of Watergare last January when seven insignificant men were conizing question remains: Will anyone now get to the top of it?

based on the assertion of the people's right to know. Even so, the victory was so signal that as Byrne rose to leave the bench in U.S. district court in Los Angeles, the assemblage in the crowded courtroom rose, applauded and cheered him. Patricia Ellsberg rushed over to her stunned husband and asked plaintively: "Haven't you got a kiss for your girl?" (He had.) Defense Counsel Charles Nessen ostentatiously broke out a big cigar and lit it. The prosecution team filed out in tight-lipped silence. Later, a majority of the jurors said that they would have voted for acquittal if they had been given the chance.

Judge Byrne, 42, a blond and sporty bachelor who once directed President Nixon's Commission on Campus Unrest, came to his decision after 4½ long months of trial. Not until its final weeks were the murky beginnings of the case disclosed. Perhapa sa early as 1969, and certainly by early 1970, the FBI knew



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interference and misconduct were un-Boudin tried to cajole Byrne with the coy suggestion: "I'm hopeful that in future when I'm asked to cite a precedent, I'll be able to cite one made by

Your Honor in this case.

Byrne had three basic alternatives: 1) declare a mistrial, which would expose the defendants to retrial before a new jury; 2) dismiss the indictments in such a way that the government could never again prosecute these defendants for the same alleged offenses (these two might be combined); or 3) send the case to the jury and decide later whether to throw out a possible guilty verdict if further investigation incriminated the Government still more deeply.

Only a Glimpse. When Byrne mounted the bench to announce his ruling, the courtroom was packed. The corridors were filled with pass holders who had been unable to squeeze in. With the jurors absent during procedural arguments, the jury box was crammed with newsmen. Byrne began briskly: "I am prepared to rule on the motion for dismissal."

First Byrne offered the defense a choice: Did it want to press for dismissal or take the risk of letting the case go to the jury for a final verdict? It took Boudin & Co. only a one-minute huddle to answer: "Dismissal." Byrne had obviously anticipated this and had the appropriate ruling prepared. He read it quickly but clearly. The Government, he noted dryly, had made an "extraordinary series of disclosures" regarding the activities of several agencies. He had tried to develop "all relevant information" about these activities, but "new information has produced new questions, and there remain more questions than answers.

Of the special investigative unit that White House officials had set up, and which burglarized Psychiatrist Lewis Fielding's office, Byrne said: "We may have been given only a glimpse of what this special unit did, but what we know is more than disquieting." As for the CIA's assistance, he said that the agency was "presumably acting beyond its statutory authority and at the request of the White House."

"No investigation is likely to provide satisfactory answers," he said, "where improper Government conduct has been shielded so long from public view"-and where the files are missing or have been destroyed. "It is the defendants' rights and the effects on this case that are paramount," Byrne declared, "and each passing day indicates that the investigation is further from completion as the jury waits.

The charges against Ellsberg and Russo raised "serious factual and legal issues," and Byrne said he would have liked these to go the full course-meaning a jury verdict and possibly appeals to higher courts. But, he concluded, "the conduct of the Government precludes the fair, dispassionate resolution of 30

these issues by a jury. The totality of the circumstances of this case offends a 'sense of justice.' " Hence he ordered a mistrial and dismissed the indictments. One of the few precedent cases that Byrne could cite was one that reached the Supreme Court in 1952, in which Justice Felix Frankfurter established the doctrine of dismissal if Government action "shocks the conscience of civilized men." Byrne, a civilized man, was

When the courtroom applause died, there remained the unresolved questions about the legality of the Government's charges-and of Ellsberg's actions in taking and releasing the documents. In the corridors, an ugly sus-

plainly shocked.



More questions than answers.

picion was voiced by defense counsel: perhaps the Administration had deliberately flunked its last assignment from Byrne, about the Halperin wiretap, because it was being increasingly embarrassed by the disclosures that Byrne was forcing. By failing to meet Byrne's demands, the Administration had given him good reason for dismissing the case and had thus forestalled any further investigation that he might order. It had thereby plugged the leaks of Watergate West.

Ellsberg and Russo plan to sue Government officials for \$2,000,000 in damages and expenses (their legal costs already total \$900,000). For this process, they threaten to subpoena the President himself. In that, they are not likely to succeed, but the Pentagon papers trial, in another guise, may be in the courts and the headlines for months or years to come.

OPINION

Is Everybody Doing It?

A national motto seems to have changed from E Pluribus Unum to Omnes Idem Faciunt-Everybody's Doing It. The President himself has helped propagate that notion. In his TV speech on Watergate two weeks ago, he assured the nation that "both our great parties have been guilty of such tactics ... the campaign excesses have occurred

on all sides." Last week Vice President Agnew concurred. This is not the first time that governments have been linked to scandals, from Teapot Dome on down, said Agnew.

In a strange way, Nixon and Agnew were thus close to agreeing with the line pushed hard by the far left, that it is the entire system, the Establishment and all its works, that is to blame for whatever is wrong in the U.S. Most of the public appears to agree, at least about politics. In a Gallup poll taken just after the President's TV talk, 58% of the respondents said that there was little difference between the corruption of the Nixon Administration and that of other Administrations in the last 25 years. People who were queried last week voiced similar viewpoints. Said Mrs. James Aycock, a Gastonia, N.C., housewife: "If we got rid of all the shady people in Washington, who'd be left to run the Government?

James Howell, chief economist of The First National Bank of Boston, shrugged off the newest revelations. "Who are we kidding here? Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson did everything in the book. They just never got

Bad Actors. Current news of public officials indicted or newly convicted of crimes sustains the ancient cliché of democratic life-that politics is a dirty business. Yet most professional politicians and a great many other observers of American life are convinced that despite all the depressing evidence, American politics is not endemically corrupt, and that Watergate is not to be used for glib generalizations.

How to prove it? The proof that something is not happening is always difficult. Without being naive, longtime watchers of Congress and the bureaucracy insist that what is really remarkable is the general absence of corruption. Most of the 100 U.S. Senators and 435 Congressmen live in modest circumstances, work hard, and earn every penny of their scarcely extravagant salaries. So do the vast majority of the unsung bureaucrats and local officials. In the past dozen years, only a handful of Senators and Congressmen have been accused-let alone convicted-of corruption or outright crimes. Given the parade of temptations, the siren appeals of lobbyists and special interests, it is a wonder not that so many of them are "doing it" but so few

Of all the accused in the Watergate



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THE NATION

scandal, none was elected to political office. Almost all were appointed by Nixon. A glance at the list of alleged conspirators recalls Sam Rayburn's grumble when he considered John F. Kennedy's best and brightest: "I'd feel a lot better about them if one of them had run for sheriff once

Says Senator Philip Hart, the Michigan Democrat: "The level of decency among politicians is at least as high as it is among lawyers. Most of the bandits and bad actors in Watergate are not politicians. Whatever they are, they're not politicians." Representative John Anderson, an Illinois Republican, provides the bottom line: "Watergate was an aberration . . . it should not be viewed as some new evidence that all the timbers are rotten."

Corruption certainly exists, but it is important to make distinctions-between larger and lesser transgressions. between various motives and aims. The big city machines, forever symbolized by Boss Tweed, were rotten, but some also performed necessary social functions. The Teapot Dome affair of Harding's Administration, the freezer and

coat giveaways of the Truman and Eisenhower eras, were corrupt acts based on organized greed, some massive, some relatively modest. Watergate is a far greater malignancy. These conspirators wanted to short-circuit the electoral and judicial processes, to rewrite the book on national security, to manipulate the standards of ethics and morality

Past Presidents, including Kennedy and Johnson, have of course stretched their powers to the limit. But nowhere in U.S. history does there seem to be the systematic breaking of laws by White House officials and the involvement of Government agencies that characterize the Watergate affair. As the Charlotte Observer put it, if the American majority believes that Watergate is "just a somewhat exaggerated version of politics as usual," then "the American political system is deathly ill." Perhaps the most important thing to rescue from the Watergate mess is the public's ability to make distinctions. both moral and legal. Fortunately, despite the pervasiveness of the everybody-is-doing-it line, the U.S. still appears to be shockable.



THOMAS NAST CARTOON OF BOSS TWEED

THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDEY

Some Lessons to Be Learned

THERE has been a liberation of sorts in Washington.
The White House cops smile and sometimes even give a "Good morning." Calls to obscure aides, which used to disappear into nothingness, are sometimes returned. You can get a White House staff member to admit that President Nixon may have made a mistake.

The federal bureaucracy and even the Congress feel, at least for the time being, a certain release from political fear. The instrument of oppression has been dismantled. Its size and pervasiveness were sensed but could never be accurately documented until the Watergate dam broke. Now the city is being flooded with stories of an arrogant and ignorant White House cadre that amassed and abused power.

The larger question remains: Was it done on the direct orders of Richard Nixon? But no matter who may have ordered what, the lessons to be learned are many

One of the lessons should be on the folly of filling the Cab-

inet with pliable and obedient men of limited experience and stature. One letter to a Cabinet member from John Ehrlichman began something like this: "The President has asked me to tell you how displeased he is with what you have done The Cabinet member was petrified that this letter about .. would get out. "Can you imagine what would have happened under Ike or Johnson if such a letter had been received?" mused a White House man. "Their Cabinet members would have taken the White House apart

Another lesson to be learned is that the White House cannot be considered the repository of everything that is wise and right. The legend of omniscience should not be allowed to grow again. The list of adult men who received memos. phone calls or visits from presidential aides and responded with unquestioning haste is staggering. One former Nixon aide, still so young that he is back in college, remembers his own astonishment at what action a call from him could bring

in a department. It became a game to many of these people who had never savored such authority. Their special joy was intoning "the President wants ... That was enough to persuade many doubters. Another line that gained currency was "I have a mandate from the President . . . " What that meant nobody really knew, but it sounded authoritative. In case of defiance, the talk sometimes got rougher. One Nixon aide heard Ehrlichman bark: "If he won't do it, fire him." Another venomous official told doubtful minions: "Remember, you are all serving at my pleasure

The monster grew, and we finally had the tawdry spectacle of the State Department throwing open its secret files to a shadowy unknown from the White House, of the CIA plunging into an illegal assault on this country's own citizens, of young officials being ordered to tell lies, of the operating head of the FBI burning evidence. "Can you imagine what J. Edgar Hoover would have done with those files if Ehrlichman and Dean had even hinted that he burn them?", chortled a White House survivor.

Buried in the Watergate tragedy are a few small tales of heroism. There is the Administration figure who got a directive from the White House that went against his agency's policy. He balked. "I'm ordering you," declared the White House aide. "By whose authority?" "The President's." came House aide. "By whose authority? the answer. "That's funny," answered the bureaucrat, "I thought I was acting under the same authority.

Once the White House wanted immediate release of some new guidelines for business depreciation. "To hell with "roared then Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Charls E. Walker. He had an agreement with Congress that no action would be taken without prior consultation. He was on the phone until 2 a.m. and had to drag in most of the Administration's top economic advisers before he won his point of honor. But he did win.

While we are rummaging in the wreckage for heroes, it may be time to step back and give a cheer for the amorphous and maligned bureaucracy—the same old bureaucracy that has been alternately humiliated, squelched, ignored and

attacked by all modern Presidents.

The CIA operatives in the ranks sounded the alarm about E. Howard Hunt Jr. when their superiors didn't. The FBI agents on the line forced out L. Patrick Grav III when he admitted he burned the files. Justice Department investigators whispered their dismay over the cover-up at higher levels. If Watergate yields dividends, it could be that next time a civil

servant hears the line "I have a mandate from the President " he will alert every one of his better instincts and ask every question he can think of before he acts.













REAGAN ROCKEFELLER

BAKER

JACKSON

Who's Up...

THREE in ten people who were ques-tioned in the latest Gallup poll said that the Watergate affair made them less likely than before to vote for a Republican in next year's congressional elections. But while Watergate has generally hurt the G.O.P., it has had varying effects on individual Republicans and Democrats, pushing some up, some down. An early and therefore tentative reading of the effects on some men who have been mentioned as presidential or vice-presidential possibilities for 1976:

UP

JOHN B. CONNALLY JR., 56, the newest Republican from Texas, benefits from Watergate because he chose a moment when the G.O.P. was at an ebb to switch allegiance. Even deep-dyed Republicans are saying in effect: "He came over not as an opportunist but when we really needed him GOVERNOR NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, 64,

stands to gain by his remoteness from Watergate. Likely to win an unprecedented fifth term as Governor of New York, Rocky may have a modest chance of stopping Connally-and Republican Conservatives Spiro Agnew and Ronald Reagan-provided that he can rally moderate

GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN, 62, put his foot in his mouth by saying that the Watergate conspirators were not "criminals at heart," but his geographical and political distance from the scandal leaves him otherwise untainted. Now disavowing any intention to run for a third term in California next year, he will remain in the public eye by speaking and fund raising for Republican candidates in 1974. SENATOR CHARLES PERCY, 53, of Illinois, gained points by pushing the resolution

to force the Administration to name an independent Watergate prosecutor. Though Percy is regarded as a political lightweight by some Republican professionals, he has support among the party's independent liberals. SENATOR HOWARD H. BAKER JR., 47, a se-

rious and hard-working Republican from Tennessee, benefits from having been named co-chairman of the select committee investigating Watergate. Baker, a moderate conservative, has been urging a "no holds barred" probe. He is certain to get more (and favorable) public exposure when televised hearings begin. SENATOR LOWELL P. WEICKER JR., 42, an-

other member of the select committee, was the first Republican to demand-on what seemed like thin evidence-that H.R. Haldeman resign as chief of the White House staff. As a result, he was instantly in trouble with G.O.P. regulars in Connecticut. Now that he has been vindicated, his home-state stance has improved, and he might emerge as a candidate for Vice President in 1976.

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON, 60, of Washington, despite a poor showing in last year's presidential primaries, rises as the conservative Democrat who hopes to draw the party away from George Mc-Govern's ultraliberals. In '76 Democrats will be seeking a candidate who is politically "clean," as Jackson is. He is also one of the most powerful Senators, holding several key committee assignments. SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE, 59, goes up slightly on a sympathy vote, for having been the target of Republican political saboteurs who worked to disrupt his 1972 primary campaign and promote McGovern as a weaker opponent for Nixon.

VICE PRESIDENT SPIRO AGNEW, 54, is as incapable of dissociating himself from the Nixon Administration's misdeeds -though he is trying-as Hubert Hum-

phrey was of detaching himself from Lyndon Johnson's Viet Nam policy in 1968. Nixon is cool to Agnew, and Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman disliked him, but Agnew presented himself to the public as a 200% rooter for the team. That will be hard to live down.

SENATOR ROBERT DOLE, 49, suffers because of the position he held when scandal erupted: chairman of the Republican National Committee. He also joined the chorus of protest against early press exposés of Watergate. But during the campaign he fought many a gallant losing battle with the Committee for the Re-Election of the President; in fact it was he who dubbed it CREEP. For his interference, he was shoved out of important campaign work and dumped from his National Committee office after the election. GEORGE BUSH, 48, successor to Dole, is an attractive politician who was out of politics (as U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.) when Watergate burst, but is hurt because he is party chairman now. He might recoup by returning to Texas to run for the governorship in 1974. SENATOR JAMES BUCKLEY, 50, an engag-

ing conservative from New York, has had his vice-presidential chances at least slightly set back. Though he supported the Percy resolution calling for an independent prosecutor, it was a tardy con-version. Previously, he had been defending Nixon against charges of scandal. SENATOR WILLIAM E. BROCK III, 42, once

an enticing prospect for conservative Republicans, can forget vice-presidential aspirations for a while. In a roundabout defense of Watergate, he said that surveillance and infiltration tactics had been extensively used in Tennessee politics He is charged in a class-action suit with having slandered 1972 Democratic campaigners in Tennessee SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY, 41, may

well be in trouble because the Republicans will strive to produce a Mr. Clean in 1976. If they do so, the signs of moral laxity in Kennedy's past—particularly at Chappaquiddick—will count heavily against him.

KENNEDY

... And Who's Down?













AGNEW

BUCKLEY

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Life Without the Presence

said Lady Bird Johnson, "It's a strange new road I have traveled since Jan. 22." Lady Bird was at the wheel of her tan Lincoln, talking to TIME Correspondent Bonnie Angelo and musing about her life without Lyndon Baines Johnson Swinging the car through the silky bluebonnets and flaming Indian paintbrush massed on the banks of the Pedernales River, she tightened her grip on the wheel and forded the rushing stream. As she turned into the road that leads to the L.B.J. Ranch, the intercom attached to the dashboard dangled idly on its cord. Once it was the link between her car and Lyndon's as they roamed their vast Texas acres. Now he is no longer there to call or answer her, and she is trying still to come to terms with his absence.

OUTWARDLY, Lady Bird is as composed and gracious as she was in the White House, greeting callers with the same wide smile and vibrant enthusiasm that she displayed when Lyndon was alive. That part is not difficult, she explains, because "grief carries its own anesthesia. It gets you over a lot."

But it does not help Lady Bird to accept her new identity as a widow. The term itself makes her recoil: "I don't like that word-it comes from a Sanskrit word meaning empty. That is a harsh thought." She also cannot quite grasp that Lyndon is irrevocably gone. The children and I find ourselves still speaking of him in the present tense. And when I'm reading a book, I find myself turning down the corner of a page, the way I always did when I wanted to talk to him about that passage. The worst time is early morning. Lyndon woke earlier and earlier in those last years-I really didn't like it much. But as early as 6:30 we would be up, having his tea and my coffee at a little table beside the window. It was such a pleasant time together, such a good way to start the day My Ranch. Lady Bird spends much

of her time in her comfortable apartment atop the L.B.J. broadcast building overlooking Austin and an endless green vista of plains stretching beyond the city. But home continues to be the L.B.J. Ranch, which still seems filled with Lyndon's presence. There are the three television sets he used to watch the news; the worn lounge chair big enough to accommodate his great frame; the bentwood rockers on the front porch where he and Lady Bird used to watch twilight settle over the river; and a needlepoint pillow inscribed: "This is my ranch and I can do as I damn please.

On many occasions, Lady Bird has relied on her family and friends for sup-

port. She often has dinner with her younger daughter Luci, Luci's husband Pat Nugent and their two children "A host of old friends have also rallied round," says Lady Bird. "Lyndon never cut the strings between himself and old friends, and they've been marvelous in thinking of things to do. They know a bridge game is my favorite way to push a button and escape," Other friends have invited her to Mexico to dig for Aztec artifacts and given parties for her in Washington and New York. "You notice the extraordinary generosity of people," she says. Then she adds: "To be honest, there is disappointment too, when you realize that some friendships change because Lyndon is gone

Antidote. Despite being the wife of a man who dominated his family, Lady Bird remained a person in her own right. That identity has fortified her in her widowhood. "You have to prepare ahead of time," she says, "and nobody ever did so much to help anybody as Lyndon. He was ambivalent about it, but he wanted me to have my own thing, and he was prooud of what I did.

Lyndon trusted his wife's business accumen and as a result named her exceutrix of his estate. Thus she now manages the L.B. Jusiness empire, confering wice a week with the trusted to the conference of the conference of the contraction of the contraction

Lady Bird knows all too well the special function of work in this "new season" of her life. She recognizes it as an "antidote to grief" but knows also that its effectiveness cannot last. "The worst may yet be ahead for me. Somewhere down the road the sadness will come crushing down on me." Already, she acknowledges, "the sadness is all-consuming at times."

Lady Bird also draws strength from the past. "We lived so happily, especially these last four years. When I realize that he had 64 years and we had 38 of them together—when you've had so much, you can't be so ungrateful as to be less than happy about what there was. You must think about what leve was, You must think about what leve was. You must think about what you had, not what you lost."

Inevitably, there are some regrets are so many things I wish I had done. But I put my thoughts into two categories: the 'Aren't-you-glad-thats' and the 'If-onlys.' I try to keep the second column as short as possible. We should think about the first column ahead of time and savor things more when we

have them. To be close to death gives you a new awareness of the preciousness of if, and the extreme tenuousness of it. You must live every day to the fullest, as though you had a short supply—because you do. I said that glibly for years, but I didn't know how intensely one should live."

Lyndon's death, she continues, "has made me know that all those things I've laid by to do I must set about doing." For one thing, she is determined now to spend more time with the rchildren and grandchildren. "I keep thinking: Don't put it off; time goes so fast." I've been given a second time around with my grandchildren, and they are the fundamental to be a second time around with my grandchildren, and they are the fundamental to the second time around with my grandchildren, and toking forward to family gatherings at the ranch. "I know it will be changed, but I see them coming



LADY BIRD JOHNSON
"A new awareness."

back for Christmas ..." Then she stops herself short. "I must be very careful about saying now that I will do this or that. I'll have to see what works out. I'm going to live a bit 'fluid' this first year."

In the first few months of that year, Lady Bird has come a long way. Driving along the ranch road, she told Correspondent Angelo, "When Lyndon died my immediate response was almost anger: 'No, not now; later!' Then there was acceptance. You get to the point when you can say of his life, and your life with him, 'Well, it was all rounded out." She stopped the car for a moment at the little walled cemetery where a wreath of Texas evergreens marked the grave of Lyndon Johnson and a circle of tourists stood in quiet respect. cars in the parking area, she noted with pleasure, "California ... Pennsylvania ... Michigan." Then she drove on, humming a cheerful tune.

TIME, MAY 21, 1973







PRESIDENT SULEIMAN FRANJIEH

THE WORLD

MIDDLE FAST

To the Brink in Lebanon

THE sights and sounds in Lebanon last week suggested a string of grenades exploding among boxes of dynamite stacked against the wall of an arsenal. In the second week of deadly clashes between the military and Palestinian guerrillas, some Lebanese politicians and civilians actively sided with the Palestinians, raising the specter of a civil war. Beyond Lebanon's borders, other Arab nations and Israel stirred, triggering fears of intervention and a major Middle East confrontation.

The fighting between Lebanese forces and the fedayeen was serious enough in itself. Scores were killed and hundreds were wounded on both sides as fierce battles scarred various parts of the sunny Mediterranean state. The army acknowledged that 43 soldiers had died and 167 had been wounded. Hundreds of civilians also died or were injured in the crossfire. One Beirut hoshad been operated on during one day. Lebanese President Suleiman Fran-

iich was clearly involved in a showdown with the fedaveen. It was in fact the most significant confrontation between an Arab government and the fedayeen since Jordan crushed the guerrillas in 1970. Though they number only about 16,000 among the 300,000 Palestinians living in Lebanon, the fedayeen control the refugee camps. In violation of a 1969 agreement with the government, they have used the camps as weapon depots and training bases for the liberation movement against Israel. As a result. Israeli commandos have struck Lebanon several times, most recently last month when they assassinated three Palestinian leaders in the heart of Reignt

Bad feeling between the Palestinians and Franjieh's regime festered in the wake of the raids. The guerrillas complained that they were not receiving adequate protection from the Lebanese army. They had the sympathy of many Lebanese left-wing politicians and Moslems. (Lebanon's population of nearly 3,000,000 is roughly split between Moslems and Christians.) Franjieh, a conservative Christian, and his supporters became increasingly fed up as they saw their country being turned

into a fedayeen-Israeli battleground. Two weeks ago, the hostility erupted into two days of fighting between the guerrillas and Lebanese forces. A shaky cease-fire agreement lasted until the start of last week. Then the battles resumed, more widespread and uglier than ever.

Emergency. The guerrillas pounded Beirut International Airport and nearby army installations with Sovietmade rockets and Chinese-made mortars. The army replied with heavy cannon fire from U.S.-made tanks. Terrorists raced through Beirut streets in cars, firing machine guns and hurling bombs at military and pro-Christian political quarters. One bomb, aimed at the Lebanese Officers' Club. bounced off a wall and exploded in front of the fashionable Phoenicia Hotel. Some rockets plunged into the gardens surrounding the presidential palace.

As the fighting increased, Premier Amin Hafez gave in to Franjieh's demands and declared a state of emergency, effectively giving the mostly Christian army control over the country. The next day, as Lebanese jet fighter-bombers joined the fray for the second week in a row, Hafez resigned. A Moslem, he had been in office only 13 days and had replaced Saeb Salam, another Moslem, who resigned after last month's Israeli attacks. Hafez's resignation had little im-



pact. Tough, short-fused Franjieh had clearly been in full control from the start. One of his major worries was the pro-fedaveen activity of Lebanon's Opposition Leader Kamal Jumblatt and other left-wing or Moslem politicians. Jumblatt called a secret meeting to organize political agitation in support of the guerrillas. Later, a member of Parliament from Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party was caught trying to smuggle arms into Beirut from the Syrian border. His car contained 35 submachine guns, five bundles of dynamite and seven bazookas. There were other signs of a potential civil war. Fedaveen cars toured Moslem districts to pick up volunteer reinforcements. Armed militia units of the right-wing Phalangist Party were deployed around Beirut's Maronite Christian section

Meanwhile, the fighting spread far beyond Beirut. Major battles rocked the port of Tyre, 45 miles to the south, and broke out in stretches inside the northern and eastern borders, where at least 2.000 Palestinian troops crossed into Lebanon from bases in Syria. The Syrian government insisted that it would not send its army into Lebanon, but its sympathies, like those of Libya, were clearly with the fedaveen. Libyan Leader Muammar Gaddafi urged the guerrillas to seize the Beirut airport so that he could send them Libvan fighter planes. Syria closed its border to Lebanon; with the Beirut airport also shut down and 40 ships unable to unload cargo, Lebanon was virtually isolated

Warning, From across Lebanon's southeastern border, Israel watched developments carefully. Defense Minister Moshe Davan said that Israel would not intervene as long as the fighting was confined to the Lebanese and the guerrillas. But he warned that Israel would be forced to act if the Syrian army moved into battle. Late in the week, one of Israel's crack units, the Golani Brigade, began maneuvers in the occupied Golan Heights of Syria. A military spokesman said that the maneuvers had been planned for some time. But in Washington, which had been counseling Israel to show restraint, some Administration officials feared that Israel's militant presence near the border might heighten tensions and increase the danger of a bigger Middle East explosion.

At week's end another uneasy truce was in effect in most of the battle areas. A hopeful sign was that it was being supervised by joint patrols of the army and the fedayeen. But the gut issue remained unresolved. The fedaveen seemed prepared to return to the status quo, under which they would continue to control the refugee camps. Franjieh was determined that the control should be shared with Lebanese authorities so that the guerrillas would never again have the freedom that they enjoyed before. Ahead lay the possibility of more battles until the fedayeen give in-or, erhaps, until they are forced out of Lebanon as they were out of Jordan.

ISRAEL

Parade or Provocation?

It was beyond doubt the most imposing display of military might the Middle East had seen since the Six-Day War. As 300,000 Israelis and tourists thronged the streets of Jerusalem, hundreds of tanks and artillery pieces rumbled along past the gray wall surrounding the biblical Old City in a parade celebrating Israel's 25th anniversary.

Two thousand troops—including ininiskired Women's Army Corps members carrying submachine gun — marchede bixily along one city's in-marched policy and property of the party of

For most Israelis, the parade was a horoughly satisfying—and justified—demonstration of their nation's sophisticated war machinery. Not everyone, though, was all that happy about it Dayan and Foreign Minister Abba Eban initially opposed the idea of a military and and the celebrations. Dayan argued that it was a needless expenditure of \$6,000,000. Both, however, closed ranks with the rest of the Cabinet once the decision was made to the control to the c

Others felt that it was unnecessarily provocative—especially since the chosen line of march went through the Israeli-occupied Old City of Jerusalem. Said Yoram Kaniuk, an Israeli writer and journalist: "Before the Six-Day War there was some justification for showing the Arabs we had muscle. But not now. We are going to look like

the Russians with this sort of thing."
The two groups most upset by the

impressive show of force were ultra-07-thodox Jews and Jerusalem's 70,000 Arabs. Members of a strict Jewish sect called Natorie Karta (Guardians of the Wall) dressed in sackcloth because the parade took place on the second Monday after Passover, a sacred day of fast. As for the Arabs, many regarded it as a bitter reminder of past defeast. "It was an Israeli invasion," grumbled one young Arab doctor, who watched the show on television.

A few Arabs were more resigned. "Madalesh IVo matterl," sighed one shopkeeper in the Old City. "What can we do? They have taken all our land already. What difference does the parade make?" Very little, apparently, to some of his Arab colleagues. With the center many shopkeepers simply took off for a day's vacation at Jericho or resorts on the Dead Sea.





détente cannot be built on cold war

imum, the Soviet leader will receive an

expansive (and expensive) welcome in

Bonn. At a cost of \$90,000, the West

German government has reopened and

refurbished the stately old Petersberg

Hotel, where the Soviet leader and his

retinue will be staying. Brezhnev will likely sleep in the same bed that Queen

Elizabeth used in 1965. Seemingly more intent on work than recreation. Brezh-

ney declined West German offers of

sightseeing side trips, including one to

Brandt and Brezhnev have met

Trier, the birthplace of Karl Marx.

Although Brezhnev has requested that public ceremonies be kept to a min-

attitudes.

DIPLOMACY

A Heady Blend: B. and B. in Bonn

It is impossible to spoil porridge by adding too much butter.

It is best to force iron while it is still hot

WITH these two old Russian say-ings, a Moscow editor summed up Soviet feelings about the purpose and timing of Leonid Brezhnev's historic five-day visit this week to Bonn, the first ever by a Soviet leader to West Germany. In the Russian view, the improving relations between Moscow and Bonn can only be further improved by Brezhnev's talks with Chancellor Willy Brandt. More important, perhaps, the Soviets feel that the time is ripe to exindustries. Since 1970, West German banks have provided about \$800 million in credit so that the Soviet Union could barter natural gas from Siberia for steel pipes from Mannesmann and Thyssen. Brezhnev wants to make more

eral Republic and which the Soviets

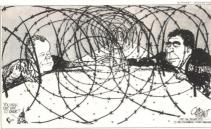
West Germany is not reluctant to do business with the Soviet Union-or with virtually anyone else, for that matter. Brandt, however, has more on his mind than expanding trade relations. He would like the Russians to agree that West Germany can automatically negotiate agreements on behalf of West Berlin, which Bonn insists is part of the Fed-

twice before: in Moscow in 1970 and in the Crimea in 1971. Indications are that both men respect each other. "When I first met Brezhnev," Brandt once recalled, "he carried his briefing book in front of him. When we discussed the Middle East, he turned to that section and read a statement. When we discussed Berlin, he did the same. When I went back a few months later, there was no briefing book. Brezhnev knew what he wanted to say on all subjects and said it. He's a fast learner. The two leaders share some traits; both are big-boned, powerfully featured

and capable of talking far into the night. "It is easier for Brandt to talk to Brezhnev than to Nixon," says one experi-enced Western diplomat. "There is a quality of openness in Brezhnev that Brandt enjoys and shares. Nixon is a

more difficult, inward person.

On the last point, Brezhnev will soon have another chance to judge for himself. Within a few weeks after his visit to Bonn, the Soviet leader is scheduled to make his first journey to Washington. Some diplomats have questioned the certainty of the trip, arguing that it may depend on congressional passage of legislation granting the Soviet Union most-favored-nation trading status with the U.S., an issue clouded by congressional hostility to Russia's treatment of Soviet Jews. Last week, however. Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger returned from a four-day visit to Moscow and reported that more than 20 hours of preparatory talks with Brezhnev had been "extremely satisfactory." On Saturday, the White House announced that Brezhnev would visit the U.S. from June 18 to June 26.



tract increased practical benefits from the growing climate of détente.

Though not as handy with aphorisms as the Russians, the West Germans see the meeting in essentially the same light. The historical significance of a Soviet leader's setting foot on West German soil is not lost on Bonn, of course. The visit will symbolize the rapprochement, if not yet the reconciliation, between two of the bitterest enemies of World War II. It will also represent another diplomatic trophy for Brandt in his pursuit of Ostpolitik The two sides see somewhat differ-

ent things in the future of the relationship. The benefits that Brezhnev seeks are primarily economic. Already West Germany is the Soviet Union's biggest Western trade partner. Two-way trade last year jumped 27%, to \$1.15 billion, double what it was in 1965. The Soviets, beleaguered by problems in both agriculture and industry, are most interested in acquiring technology and long-term credits. In the past twelve months, the West Germans have delivered or contracted to deliver equipment for Russia's coal, chemical, natural gas, steel, truck, electronics and toolmaking maintain is a separate political entity. Brandt also wants West Germany to represent West Berlin at the United Nations. On relations with East Germany. the Chancellor hopes that Brezhnev can spur some action on the agreements that were supposed to follow the treaty that was signed last December, "normalizing" relations between the two Germanys. The proposed pacts would cover such areas as youth exchanges, sports competition and civil air routes. Brandt, in fact, will urge Brezhnev

to facilitate a freer flow of people, ideas and information throughout Europe. The West German leader regards a Soviet concession on this issue, which would unquestionably influence the attitudes of other East bloc nations, as essential to the success of the European Security Conference in Helsinki. The Russians view the conference as a sort of World War II wrap-up, affirming the 'inviolability" of all borders that were redrawn to Soviet advantage at war's end. They have shown little interest in Brandt's broader aims, fearing that Communist ideology may be "contaminated" by exposure to Western thought. Brandt intends to put it as di-

WEST GERMANY

Barzel's Farewell

Throughout his 81/2 years as leader of the Christian Democrats in parliament, Ranier Barzel, 48, had to fend off steady criticism from both his Social Democratic Party foes and his colleagues within the alliance of the Christian Democratic Union and Bavaria's Christian Social Union. He has been as-



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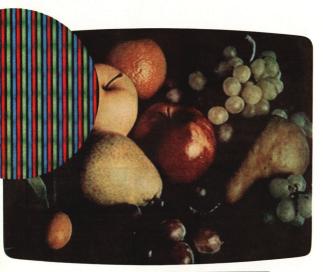
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CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT BARZEL Contradictory stand.

sailed as an ambitious opportunist with an all too obvious thirst for power and condemned for his irritating, seemingly insincere political style. As one S.D.P. leader put it: "After every 5,000 words, he has to have his oil changed."

Nonetheless, the cool, intelligent Barzel managed to expand his power. He won election as C.D.U. chairman in October 1971, and was chosen to be that party's candidate for the chancellorship, running a losing race against Willy Brandt in the November 1972 general elections. He was re-elected to a one-year term as parliamentary leader of the C.D.U.-C.S.U. last December. Last week Barzel suddenly quit as floor leader, and his days as party chairman appeared to be numbered. Said Barzel: "I cannot represent as chairman a majority decision on an important matter which was taken against my engaged

Barzel's resignation came after the majority of C.D.U.-C.S.U. members in the Bundestag rejected his seemingly contradictory stand on two important -and related-questions. One issue was the party's position on ratification of Brandt's basic-relations treaty with East Germany, which was signed last December. The second was a bill empowering the West German government to apply for membership in the U.N .- a move that would coincide with East Germany's application. In a party caucus, Barzel won support for C.D.U. opposition to the treaty, but lost narrowly on his advocacy of a yes vote for U.N. membership. At that point, said a participant, "he turned chalk white." Muttering something about "conse-quences for the leadership," Barzel walked out of the meeting. Next morning he resigned

Barzel's fall is closely connected with his wavering stance on Ostpolitik. Last year, when Bonn's treaties with Moscow and Warsaw came up for ratification in the Bundestag, he failed for months to make up his mind what party policy should be. Just before the Bundesting debate on the treaties, he decided that the C.D.U.-CS.U. deputies should vote against ratification; then, after a bipartisan policy delaration had a fare vote. Under pressure from C.S.U. Leader Franz. Josef Strauss, he changed his mind again and said that though his mind again and said that though but the said of the said of the said of the position should abstain on the vote. It was an unconvincing display of leadership. Barzel made it even less convincing by their hight and also going home to bed.

Despite his resignation as floor leader, Barzel will probably remain as chairman of the C.D.U. until the party convention in October. Clearly, though, his effective political career is over. One possible successor is Rhineland-Palatinate Minister-President Helmut Kohl. 43, who lost a battle for party leadership to Barzel in 1971. Defense Minister Kai Uwe Von Hassel, 60, may become floor leader. For the moment, however, Barzel's replacement on the floor is 69-year-old Kurt Georg Kiesinger, West Germany's Christian Democratic Chancellor from 1966 to 1969. Late last week Kiesinger watched his party go down to defeat as the Bundestag backed by a 51-vote margin Brandt's treaty with East Germany.

ITALY

Neo-Fascism on Trial

Fascism is on the ropes—again. In last year's general election, Italy's far-right parliamentary party, the MS.1 (Idalian Social Movement), amossid. 100,000 votes and captured 50 of the 500,000 votes and captured 50 of the Based on that showing, MS.1 could proudly describe itself as Italy's fourth algrest party. Since then, party leaders have even claimed that MS.1 has kept the centrist government of Giulotig a critical adoat by providing a critical test. Today, however, MS.1 is fighting tests. Today, however, MS.1 is fighting

for its very existence. Its leader, Deputy Giorgio Almirante, may be stripped of parliamentary immunity and brought to trial for the crime of "reconstituting the disbanded Fascist party."

MS.1.5 troubles started when its members' carefully nattured public image as doppie-petit, or "double-breast-ed" (respectable), rightists, became fused with that of the delinquent bomaletis—Fascist bomb throwers carecent wave of violence and terrorism pertured by the bomb throwers has so enraged many Italians that there are extraordinary step for a country that allows a wide spectrum of political allows a wide spectrum or political

The furor was provoked by two unrelated acts of violence that occurred last month. In the first, a 22-year-old neo-Fascist named Nico Azzi tried to blow up a crowded Turin-to-Rome train by planting a sizable charge of TNT in a washroom. Fortunately for the 500 passengers, the detonator Azzi was wiring exploded when the train suddenly lurched. Bleeding heavily. Azzi was placed under arrest and taken to a hospital. Police later revealed that he was a member of the extreme neo-Fascist Ordine Nuovo (New Order). Although he had no proven connection with M.S.I., Azzi had in fact tried to enroll in the party

A second incident took place a few





BOMBING SUSPECTS LOI & MURELLI



days later in Milan, where an assortment of M.S.I. members and other rightwingers had scheduled a political rally. When the rally was banned because of political tension in the city, the demonstrators marched toward police headquarters. They were met by squads of helmeted policemen; rocks, Molotov cocktails and tear gas began to fly, and hand bombs were tossed toward the cops. One bomb struck a young policeman in the chest, killing him.

Following the policeman's death, Milan authorities launched a massive manhunt; some 60 neo-Fascist suspects were picked up and grilled. Trying desperately to exonerate the party from blame, M.S.I. leaders offered an \$8,500 reward for the capture of the bomb throwers. Eventually, the party itself fingered the culprits: an unemployed laborer named Maurizio Murelli, 19, and Vittorio Loi, 22, the son of former Junior Welterweight Boxing Champion Duilio Loi. However, young Loi later told police that an M.S.I. bodyguard had assigned them to disrupt the rally

Italy has had its share of leftist violence too. A few days after Loi's arrest, for example, arsonists set fire to the suburban Rome apartment of an M.S.I. organizer, killing two of his sons. A lettered sign left on the stairway read: PROLETARIAN JUSTICE IS DONE. Nonetheless, it is the Milan bombing, sensationalized in the newspapers as "Black Thursday," that continues to cause the most stir. The major reason is the recent boldness of the neo-Fascist bullyboys. A notorious group called the Mussolini Action Squad has set off 25 bombs in Milan since 1969; none of its members have ever been convicted. Until a recent police crackdown around Milan's San Babila Square, neo-Fascist toughs were terrorizing pedestrians and shopkeepers, and occasionally assaulting passers-by whom they thought might be leftists. Another gang, called the Executioners, mails letter bombs to antagonistic newspapers

Brawl. In this charged atmosphere, M.S.I. members have tried to keep a low profile, quietly canceling a May Day rally. Last week tensions exploded in the Chamber of Deputies during a heated discussion of extremist agitation. Communist Parliamentary Leader Alessandro Natta attacked M.S.I. members for their "ignoble" attempt to pose as victims of a campaign linking them with rightist terrorism. "Assassin!" shouted the M.S.I. benchers, "Shut up, you assassins!" responded the Communists. Deputies from both sides then rushed toward each other, overturning tables, punching and kicking

When the brawl ended, Natta calmly resumed his speech. "For the overwhelming majority of Italians," he said, "you are the Fascist party at the center of reactionary and ruinous intrigue." He was roundly applauded by the Deputies-an ominous signal that the M.S.I. has been effectively isolated in the Chamber.

SOUTH ASIA

The Forgotten Hostages of Peace

VER since the end of the Indo-Pak-Eistani war in December 1971, a true peace settlement on the subcontinent has been blocked by disagreement over what to do with three groups of political hostages, totaling more than 500,000.

► India is the increasingly unwilling custodian of 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war, whose upkeep so far has cost more than \$20 million.

▶ Bangladesh, the new nation formed by dissident Bengalis in the former province of East Pakistan, has 250,000 Biharis (non-Bengali Moslems) who want to be repatriated to Pakistan.

▶ Pakistan, in turn, is holding about 200,000 Bengalis who were trapped in the country at the war's end and want to go to Bangladesh

Last month India and Bangladesh proposed a new settlement calling for simultaneous repatriation of the P.O.W.s. the Biharis and the Bengalis. To sweeten the offer, Bangladesh's Prime Minister. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, dropped his insistence that Pakistan formally recognize his country prior to negotiations Dacca also scaled down the numher of Pakistani soldiers it wants to try for atrocities committed during the war from 2.500 to less than 200.

Pakistan's initial response to the offer was quite favorable. A government spokesman said that the proposal "purports to be inspired by a vision of a durable peace in the subcontinent." President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto invited India -but not Bangladesh-to send representatives to Islamabad to discuss the exchange further. But that hopeful response was never followed up, and last

week prospects for a quick resolution of the conflict seemed all but dashed.

The reason: in midnight raids that smacked of Nazi Germany, Pakistani police invaded the homes of several thousand Bengalis in Islamabad, loaded them on to buses and trucks and hauled them off to internment camps in northern Pakistan. The victims were all former Pakistani government employees. Officials offered a number of lame explanations, though none for the terror tactics involved in the action. The housing was needed for others, it was said. But the claim was also made that the Bengalis were being taken away "in preparation for their eventual repatriation to Bangladesh.

There were strong hints that the Bengalis would be defendants in a series of "show trials" if Bangladesh carried out its threat to try Pakistani military officials. Pakistan has adamantly opposed such trials on the ground that soldiers who committed atrocities should be tried by Pakistani military tribunals. Since General Tikka Khan, who led the military suppression of the Bengalis, is now Pakistan's army Chief of Staff, Bangladesh is unmoved by that argument. Dacca last week denounced the raids on the Bengalis as "barbarous," and Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh said that Pakistan's action "can only retard the process of normalization in the subcontinent."

Though public attention in recent months has been largely focused on the fate of the P.O.W.s, the plight of the Bengalis, who are plainly being held by Pakistan as hostages for the P.O.W.s. is,

MEALTIME AT BENGALI SELF-HELP COMMUNITY CENTER IN KARACHI





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THE TRAVELERS

THE WORLD

if anything, far worse. Having fought or neither Bangladesh nor Pakistan, they are perhaps the most innocent views of the wars residual bitterness. As East Pakistanis, they came to what was sone, primarily better job opportunities, and the proposition of the p

Virtually all of them have lost their jobs. Many are barely subsisting in the crowded, steaming slums of Karachi; others have been forced to double up two and three families to a house. There is no mail service between Pakistan and Bangladesh. 1,000 miles away, and those who left their families behind have no way of knowing whether their wives and children survived the war.

Says one Bengali, a former civil servant: "The police come by after midnight and wake us up just to see if we are in the house. We did not fight against Pakistan, but we are treated as prisoners. The world has forgotten us."

In the marketplaces, Bengalis say they are forced to pay twice as much as Pakistanis do for fruits and vegetables. They dare not complain to police for fear of reprisals. "My hair has grown gray overrighti." says a pediatrician who helped organize medical clinics for the Bengalis. We have all lost weight exerything. We cannot stand this political insecurity and social isolation."

All Bengali schools and colleges were closed by the government last year, and civil servants fired from their jobs. Senior government employees are now being moved into a single residential area in Karachi, where they will be un-

der constant police watch. Even worse, some 40,000 members of the armed forces and their families are being held in military detention camps, just as if they were ordinary prisoners of war.

anyone in to see them. Their growing desperation has prompted thousands of Bengalis to pay hundreds of dollars to frontier tribesmen to smuggle them across the border into Afghanistan. But the risks are great. The journey entails a week's walk through desolate and dangerous terrain. Those who get caught-as have about 4,000 so far-wind up in Pakistani prisons. For those who have not resorted to such extreme measures, the outlook is almost as grim. As last week's brutal roundup proved, they have ample reason to fear that a wrong turn in political events could any day make them the object of bloody reprisals.

Cambodia's Sihanouk: "I Am Very Angry"

Since he was deposed in 1970 by Marshal Lon Nol, Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk has lived in exile in China but has never surrendered his claim to be his country's rightful chief of state. At 50, Sihanouk is still ebullient, charming and volatille—and increasingly bitter against the U.S.

SIHANOUK (RIGHT) & KHIEU SAMPHAN

which he thinks is destroying his country. Last week, before flying off on a month-long visit to nine African and Eastern European countries, Sthanouk sat down in Peking for an interview with TIME's diplomatic editor Jerrold Scheeter. His main points:

ON THE WAR IN CAMBODIA. Sihanouk says that he tried to talk about negotiations with President Nixon or Henry Kissinger, and was rebuffed on four separate occasions. "Now I am no longer interested in meeting Kissinger We [the Communist-dominated Khmer Rouge insurgents] are prepared to go on until 1976 because we hope that after President Nixon, the new President will decide to stop the U.S. intervention in Cambodia. But if the new President chooses to continue, we are ready to go on independently until 1980. We have enough courage to do that." Sihanouk insists that the insurgents will negotiate only if the U.S. stops its bombing of Cambodia, withdraws support from the Lon Nol regime, and unilaterally withdraws all American military personnel

ON NIXON AND WAIFROATE. "I do not want Nixon to resign. Agnew is worse than Nixon. I prefer a weakened Nixon in front of me—he will not have the same prestige as before—to a new Agnew in back of me... Your people cannot be moved by the killing of yellow people, in the property of the p

On the U.S. Shanouk, visited Khmer Rouge-held sections of Cambodia in March and asked his people their opina of America. They said, 'Bombings, tombings, killing, killing, We cannot be friends with such an inhuman country,' My people cannot be aware of your good traditions or the background of your Revolution. They know you through the B-52s, the AC-130s, the Spookies [gun ships] and the F-111s and F-115s.

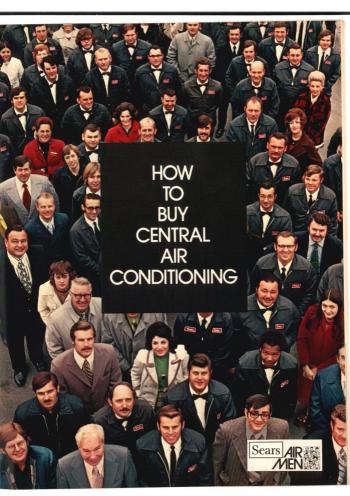
ON U.S. DIPLOMACY. "You say that you cannot allow Communism to take over Indochina, but you decided to be friends with China and the Soviet Union, the two most powerful Communist coun-

tries in history. Why do you accept friendship with Chinese and Soviet Communism and consider Indochinese Communism as dangerous? Indochines does not threaten the U.S. in any way. You are very far away. Why don't you let us live our lives? If we want to be Communists, why do you refuse us such a right?"

ON CHINA AND VIET NAM. Though the Cambodians and the Vietnamese are traditional enemies, the U.S., the Prince contends, has forced the insurgents into the arms of the North Vietnamese. "I am sure that North Viet Nam will respect our sovereignty, neutrality and independence; I have it in writing. Besides. China is enough to guarantee our independence. North Viet Nam will not be able to 'satellitize' us since China also guarantees our independence and our neutrality. It is not in the interest of China to abandon us. China is still revolutionary despite the fact that she chooses to be your friend. She must help the small peoples' revolutions in the Third World. Otherwise, how can she present herself to you as a big not only on the Chinese people but also on her prestige among the revo-

ON SIHANOUK HIMSELF. The Prince insists that he no longer runs the antigovernment factions, a task that has fallen to Khieu Samphan, head of the Khmer Rouge insurgents. "From now on, I am head of state without government responsibilities. When President Nixon has to deal with Great Britain, he does not deal with Queen Elizabeth but with the Prime Minister. Please allow us to do the same thing ... I am not desirous of dealing with America. I told you, I am very angry. I am not wise like Chou En-lai. He is really a statesman. I am only Sihanouk. Allow me to remain Sihanouk. I have my personal pride and courage.

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- 3. Refrigerant Tubing. This is the connecting tubing that transfers the heat, by means of refrig-

erant, from the cooling coil to the condensing unit.

4. Thermostat. This automatically controls the temperature level in the home. So you get more even, more comfortable cooling.

OK. I know what central air is, and I want it. How do I know what to buy?

You probably don't.

It takes a professional with specialized training to fit the right central air system into your house.

> They are a team of 10,000 professionals who can plan an efficient effective and economical central air system that's tailored to your needs, make sure it's installed right, and be there to give you service if you need it.

That's why Sears have the Air Men.

How do the Air Men decide what my needs are?

There are a lot of factors that go into the planning of a central air system. Probably more than you

ever thought about.

You know that the size of your house is important. And your heating system has a lot to do with it. But you might not have thought about your windows. Or the type of home construction and insulation you have. Those things make a difference.

> So does the direction your house faces . . . and the color of your

roof. (A light colored roof reflects heat, a dark roof absorbs it.) The Sears Air Men know exactly what to look for when they come out.

Couldn't I just play it safe and order a big size unit to be sure I get the cooling I want?

It doesn't work that way. A unit that's too big is just as bad as a unit that's too small.

A central air system works by removing heat and humidity from the air. And the thermostat, which only measures tem-

perature, not humidity, shuts the unit off as soon as the desired temperature has been reached.

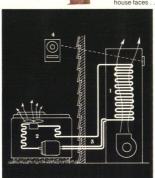
A system that's too big will lower the temperature very quickly, but before

the proper humidity level has been reached. So your house will be cool, but you'll still be uncomfortable.

The Sears Air Men can assure you a system that's not too big or too small, but just right for your home.

Can central air be installed with any heating system?

Yes. Normally, central air is installed with a forced



air heating system. But with the addition of duct work. central air can be used with any heating system. However, don't assume that

because you have a good heating system, it will convert naturally to a good central air system. Cooling generally requires more air movement than heating.



THE

SEARS AIR MEN

ANSWER

YOUR QUESTIONS

ABOUT

CENTRAL

CONDITIONING

AIR

In order to plan a central air system, the Sears

Air Men will make a complete examination of your heating plant. They'll find the load your electrical system can handle. the size and location of ducts and registers, the adequacy of your furnace, the blower capacity, (If your furnace is putting on years and needs replacing, you can save some money by having it done at the same time your central air system is installed.)

After he's made the complete examination, your Sears Air Man can tell you which size central air conditioning system will provide you with the best cooling.

Will central air conditioning be expensive?

Your needs will determine the cost.

But good planning, the kind you get from the Sears Air Men, can keep you from spending more money than you need to . . . not only in the cost of the system, but in the cost of operating the system.

Sears Air Men have convinced me that central air conditioning is what I want.

But why should I buy air conditioning from a department store?

There are four basic considerations in buying cental air conditioning:

1. Equipment. Let's face it, most central air conditioning systems are designed to do the same job. Cool your house.

So if you buy from a reliable dealer, you'll probably get satisfactory cooling. But Sears wanted more than just satisfactory cooling. So Sears air conditioning systems are designed to give you operating efficiency and operating economy. The "High Efficiency" line also cuts operating noise.

2. Price. What's really important about price is not what the system costs, but what you get for your money.

Four elements make up the cost of central air: cost of equipment, installation, operating cost. and service.

The Sears Air Men are trained to give you an

effective and efficient system at an economical cost. They won't sell you a system that's too small just to save you money.

And they won't sell you a system that's too big just to make a few extra bucks. They'll plan a system that's just right for you.

3. Service. If something goes wrong with your central air system, you don't want to wait until October for a service man.

The Sears Air Men

are only a phone call away. So when you need help, they can get to you fast.

4. Guarantee. The Sears Men have Air Assurance. It's a five year guarantee that promises to repair any part found defective the first year. For the next four years the Air Men will replace the compressor if found defective . . . at no cost to you for parts or labor

> Come in and let the Air Men show you how this quarantee stacks up against the others.

Call the Sears Air Men today for a free home estimate. Let them show you how easy and inexpensive Sears

central air conditioning can be.

SAVE THIS GUIDE FOR A HANDY REFERENCE WHEN SHOPPING FOR CENTRAL AIR CONDITIONING.

HERE ARE THE TWO MAJOR CENTRAL AIR SYSTEMS AVAILABLE FROM THE SEARS AIR MEN.





Sears High Efficiency Series

Sears "High Efficiency" central air conditioning is Sears best system. Features include solid state modulating control, top air discharge for quiet, thrifty operation and reliable service.

The new modulating control automatically selects condensing unit fan speed for low sound level plus maximum cooling efficiency. The fan works only as hard as it has to. The higher the temperature outside, the harder it works. When the temperature goes down, the fan is slowed to give you the quietest operation possible.

Modern design High Efficiency units are available in capacities to meet most home needs.

Sears New "Custom II". The new Custom II was designed to give you 15% greater operating efficiency than last year's model. But it's still an economical choice for dependable, fast home cooling. Rust-resistant cabinet is bonderized and finished inside and out with tough acrylic enamel.

And we've added a 2-speed control that adjusts the fan speed to give you quieter operation than last year's model.

It uses quick-connect fittings that are hermetically sealed until joined at installation; units are charged with refrigerant at the factory for easy. economical installation.

Ask about Sears convenient credit plans.

You'll find all types of residential air conditioning at Sears, Whether it's a 6.000 BTU Modular unit or a 55,000 BTU central air conditioning unit, Sears has it. And Sears has one more thing, The Sears Air Men.

| Please have the Sears Air Men con estimate on central air conditionin | tact me for a free home g for my home. | ars AIR |
|--|--|------------------------|
| NAME | | MEN |
| STREET | F | PHONE |
| CITY | STATE | ZIP |
| SEARS, ROEBUCK AND CO. | | Printed in U.S.A. 1/73 |



LEONHARDY AFTER RELEASE

MEXICO

The Price of Freedom

The lushly flowered city of Guadalajara has long been considered a prize post by American diplomats: the climate seems like eternal spring, the ambience is relaxed and the U.S. consulgeneral's home is a monument to comfortable living. From now on, though, Foreign Service officers may be a bit apprehensive about the assignment. Two weeks ago, while returning home from ment, U.S. Consul General Terrance Leonhardy (a 21-year career man) was kidnaped by four armed men. An hour after he was spirited away, ransom notes turned up, demanding on behalf of the "Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People" that 30 political prisoners be released from prisons across the country and flown to Cuba. Warned the terrorists: "Any delay in fulfilling these demands will result in the execution of the bourgeois who is in our hands.

The revolutionaries had other demands as well. They wanted their Marsist-lining manifesto published on the front pages of leading dailies throughout Mexico. They specified a time for Cuba's representative in Mexico to appear on national television and report he safe arrival in Havana of the 30 compañeros. They also warned that there was to be no army or police mobilization in the Guadalajara area while negotiations were going on.

For both the U.S. and Mexican governments, the dilemma was cruel. To give int ot the terrorists' demands cut against the grain of President Nixon's no-dealing-with-terrorists policy, enunciated in 1971 in connection with the kidnaping of four U.S. airmen by left-ist terrorists in Turkey. To Mexican au-

thorities, the release of 30 imprisoned terrorists to Cuba meant, in all likelihood, that the revolutionaries would soon be back in action in the country.

Although Washington stood firm, Mexican President Luis Echeverría decided to bow to the demands. "Mexico will accede," he said, "because the essential thing is to protect the U.S. con-sul general's life." (Only six months before, five Mexican guerrillas were released from prison after their comrades hijacked a domestic Mexicana airline flight and demanded that all be allowed to fly to Cuba.) Besides, as a Mexican official put it, "allowing the terrorists to kill the consul general would have been tragic for U.S.-Mexican relations. It would have cost Mexico dearly in American investment and in our \$1 billion-a-year U.S. tourist trade."

Demond. The deal was made; the 30 prisoners flown to Hawana, the proclamation duly printed, the police leashed. Cuba's chargé d'affaires appeared, as specified, on television to report that the freed rebels had safely arpert that the freed rebels had safely arcaptors made an additional demand of the second of

Leohnardy was quick to praise both President Elecheviria and Jalisco State Governor Alberto Orozeo Romero without whose help," he said, "I would not be here today," I ronically, Leonharwith the properties of the properties of the bill for his own freedom. Since the State of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the form, Governor Oroccobes on any form, Governor Oroccobes bank loan for the ransom money which, he says, the consul general is responsible for paying back.

UGANDA

Big Daddy's Breakfast

Two months ago, Uganda's mercurial President General Idi ("Big Daddy") Amin Dada packed off all the members of his Cabinet for 30 days of "vacation." They were exhausted, he said, and needed a rest. Then he extended the enforced leave for another 30 days, announcing that the ministers' permanent secretaries would run things in their absence. Last week the eleven surviving ministers-five others had been fired, one quit in disgust, and another, Amin's brother-in-law, submitted his resignation by letter-filed into the presidential palace in Kampala for a 6 a.m. command breakfast. Those who showed up late, Big Daddy curtly an-

It soon became clear that Amin had

more than military discipline, or scrambled eggs, on his mind. Radio Uganda brightly described all hands as ing happy and fresh after their twomonth leave," but their smiles soon faded. Big Daddy made the mildly ominous announcement that not only would the ministers not return to their old jobs right away but that "some won't return at all, and 98% of those who make it will not go to their former ministries." Amin added that the permanent secretaries had done "very well" in the ministers' absence and "provided brilliant ideas that I did not often get from you." While he pondered a permanent government reorganization, the secretaries would continue to serve as acting ministers. They would also use the ministers' official cars. "We will get other cars for you," he told the Cabinet. Amin saved his most extraordinary

performance of the week for later. After dismissing his chastised guests, he composed a rambling cable to Richard Nixon, who had ordered a phase-out of U.S. aid to Uganda in response to the expulsion of the country's Asians "My dear brother," Amin wrote, "it is quite true that you have enough problems on your plate, and it is surprising that you have the zeal to add on fresh ones. Amin then ticked off some of the "problems": racial strife in the U.S., Nam, the ITT fiasco in Chile, and, of course, Watergate: "At this moment you are uncomfortably sandwiched in that unfortunate affair." Big Daddy signed off with a heartfelt benison from one hard-pressed statesman to another: "I ask almighty God to help you solve

SIERRA LEONE

Insecticitation

The loathing of Black African nations for the white-supremacist enclave of Rhodesia has often been stated-but never quite so bitingly as it was last week when tiny Sierra Leone announced its first list of national awards Siaka Stevens, recalling that the country's 19th century nickname was "the white man's grave" because of Sierra Leone's hordes of malaria-bearing mosquitos, said that among the honors would be a Medal of the Mosquito, for conspicuous gallantry. Why? Because the vicious little pests prevented white men from permanently settling in the area and thus forestalled the creation of another Rhodesia

MALARIAL MOSQUITO





LENA & KERMIT

It wasn't her usual gig, but Lene Horne, 55, got turned on to Sesame Street by her grandchildren. There she was, reassuring Kermit he frog and singing Kermit's favorite song. It's Not That Easy Being Green. which is all about having green skin. "It's a highly personal song to me," she explained. "It is the same for me as it is for Kermit."

There were 2,000 people, sure. The real draw, however, at Ethel Kennedy's 15th annual Pet Show at Hickory Hill was the fauna-everything from dogs to two worms that were entered as twins. We want to Rengmaster Art Boulvoid, but there was a slip-up in the Unusual but there was a slip-up in the Unusual Pet category. Two "Watergate bugs" got a blue ribbon. A chameleon name Richard Nixon took second prizze

Like a lot of other performers. Somny and Cher Bone are at loose ends because of the TV writers' strike in Hollywood. But the long-and-short-of-fit pair are having a good time hopping from nightclub to concert. They soctch all rumors that their marriage is cracking up. "Who'd get custody of all our Indian and Italian jokes?" cracked Cher.

Princess Anne can be an absolute darling, but "she has imperious moods when that pendulous Windsor lower lip droops and the arrogance of centuries emerges." Her Royal Highness was taking a drubbing from Punch. the British humor magachine which wished she would let go with a "bit of divilment." As it is, Anne shares a chilling trait with Elizabeth. "She has her mother's look, which can freeze at 20 paces."

With his dance-tired feet stuffed into a pair of worn and obviously comfortable shoes, **Rudolf Nureyev**—perhaps the world's greatest *danseur noble*—accepted the annual *Dance* Magazine award in Manhattan. His speech was



RUDOLF & MONIQUE



CHER & FEATHERS

hardly audible, a sentence thanking the people who had helped him since he fled the U.S.S.R. During those twelve years in the West. Rudolf has performed mostly with the Royal Ballet, and is now touring with the National Ballet of Canada. Except for old friends like Dancer Erik Bruhn and Actress Monique Von Vooren, his life is a solo.

What a circus! And all to help actors in trouble. For the Union dex Artistes in Paris, Actress Bisa Martinelli, wearing black opera hose, ran a couple of baby chimps through their paces. Dressed up as a bunny. Singer Jane Birkin popped out of a cake and walked a tightrope. The hit of the evening was a pie-throwing skit written by Director Cloude Chaberla and starring Actor Morsello Mastrolamin. Marcello then scrubbed himself down and returned for scrubbed himself down and returned for



MARCELLO & TARTS

the 3 a.m. finale when the whole company dished up a giant vat of steaming spaghetti for the audience.

Amid the justified huzzahs for the Washington Post's Pulitzer Prize in public service journalism (Watergate and all that), other Pulitzers were too easily overlooked. Emphatically not to be ignored were Robert Coles and Eudora Welty, the psychiatrist and the novelist, who had both written, at least in part, about the South: Coles with Volumes II and III of Children in Crisis. which describes his work with sharecroppers, migrant workers and ghetto children, and Welty with her short novel The Optimist's Daughter. Two younger writers were also among the prizewinners: Frances FitzGerald, 32, for Fire in the Lake, a study of American involvement in Viet Nam, and Jason Miller, 34, for his play about a middleaged basketball team, That Championship Season.

"I've worked with the best kids in the nation," said Francis Donahue, who is retiring after 50 years as business director of the Yale Daily News. The kids —the likes of Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, Yale President Kingmon Brewster Jr. and National Review Edtior William F. Buckley Jr.—have collected \$80,000 to buy Donahue an annuity. Who was the most impressive chairman of the News during his half century? "Buckley, hands down," says Donahue. "He'd always throw out ads to run anti-Buckley letters."

She is a 55-year-old frump having an embarrassing amount of trouble hanging on to her husband, played by Henry Fende. What to do? Why, radical plastic surgery, of course, from head to che. Even after all that, however, Hank will still have none of ther. That's the story line for Ash Wednesday, just fillmed in Cortina d'Ampezo, Italy. A bit sad but not very credible, since the looks to well are the still be and the still be and the still be also the still be and the still be also the still be a still be and the still be a s





GEORGE & DOLPHINS

George C. Scott, the crusty actor who turned down an Oscar two years before Marlon Brando did, does not seem to have much use for humans. In the movie of Robert Merle's political thriller The Day of the Dolphin. Scott is the scientist who becomes very friendly with noed mammals that may be the closest animal to man in intelligence. The scientist manages to get Bi and Fa, the

cetaceans in his charge, to talk English, but what they tell him, alas, would be enough to confirm Scott's worst fears about man.

Germany watchers have noted four waves of postwar preoccupations: money, gluttony, sex and travel. Nobelprizewinning Novelist Heinrich Böll, 55. hopes there will be a fifth: "Relaxation and meditation. I've never met a relaxed German." Visiting the U.S., where his latest novel, Group Portrait with Lady, has just been published, Böll discussed the adversity of prosperity that exists throughout the West: "Having things we don't need can be a very bad thing Böll would like to see the Germans become more like Americans. "I admire your self-criticism, notably with Watergate. In the 2,000 years of German history, there is only now a moment of democracy."

The small, stooped, gnomelike figure working in his bare feet was French Artist Jean Dubuffet, 71. He was putting the last touches on his Coucou Bazar, an art-dance event using his own brightly colored cutouts, which will be presented along with his retrospective at the Guggenheim Museum. "I'm satisfied. Who else at my age can say he is satisfied?" Dubuffet chirruped. Moreover, he likes Manhattan, especially Wall Street, where one of his sculptures has been installed. Said he, relaxed as could be: "It is the solar plexus of the world. It is the heart where the blood comes from. There is a high madness, a delirium because of the tension."

> "I'm sure glad to see you; it was nice of you to come, the midget said to the cardinal. Terence Cardinal Cooke, the only American member of a commission created by Pope Paul VI for people on the move," was celebrating his first Mass for the Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey circus in Madison Square Garden. "How blessed you are," Cooke said to the assembled animal trainers, jugglers, clowns and workmen. spend your lives dedicated to a profession that makes people smile."

"I'm a creature of the warming the "risal Gorol Burnett, 38, arriving in New York to collect her wavad from the Friars Club as Entertainer of the Year. Weren't her naughty-lady movie takeoffs frisque?" Not Does she have a second career in Wr. Does she have a second career in sag movies. But I'd really like to be a schoolteacher for kids, six to eight. They haven't heard all my iokes."

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BURNETT'S WHITE SATINGIN

QUITE REASONABLE. REALLY

NVIRONMENT

Oil Eaters

During a vacation two years ago at the popular Mediterranean heach of Tel Baruch, Israeli Professor Eugen Ro. senberg discovered that no matter where he and his family went on the shore, their feet were continually black-ened by globs of oil. Returning to Tel Avi University, where he heads the mi-crobiology department, Rosenberg and proposed to the policy of the short of the policy of the policy of the short of the policy of the short of the policy of

cert: oil-eating bugs.
With Blochemist David Gutnick,
Rosenberg isolated a genus of bacteria called arthrobacter, which feast on called arthrobacter, which feast on called arthrobacter, which feast on the called arthrobacter of the calle

With their new strain, the Israeli scientists were able to begin an attack on the major direct cause of the world's oil pollution, which, contrary to popular belief, is not accidental spillage or "An acronym for the names of the researchers. Rosenberg, Avraham Resided and Gutrink."

the breakup of supertankers like *Torrey Canyon*. Most of this pollution is actually caused by routine tanker operations. Before entering harbor to take on a new load of crude oil, sea water used as ballast on the return trip

is flushed into the ocean; it includes a small amount of crude oil (usually about one-half of 1% of the tanker's capacity) left over from the previous load. In this manner, the world's tanker fleets annually dump an estimated 1,000,000 tons of oil residue into the oceans.

No Slick. Going to the source of the problem, Rosenberg and Gutnick last winter boarded a 125,000-ton tanker to give RAG-1 a practical test. Selecting two of the ship's tanks, which were each filled with 100 tons of sea water, they poured 55 lbs. of nitrogen-containing urea and 2.2 lbs. of potassium phosphates into each. Shipboard compressors were used to bubble air into the tanks through a perforated hose, thus turning them into ideal "bacterial fermenters," says Rosenberg. Then a flaskful of RAG-1 bacteria was poured into one tank. Six and a half days later, the tanker discharged its ballast. The unbugged tank emitted an ugly black slick But there was hardly any slick from the other tank; the bacteria had multiplied and taken the polluting elements out of

the oil.

The result of the experiment is good news to shipowners. For one thing, none



of the nutrient ingredients are expensive. For another, the bacteria do their work so well that tanks would not have to be washed and scraped when ships put in for periodic repairs. This is especially important because the scrubbing is done with high-pressure hoses; the nozzles sometimes develop charges of static electricity that can ignite oil fumes lingering in the tanks. Moreover, Rosenberg believes that his bugs may turn even the ballast water into profit. He figures that after the bacteria have cleaned the tanks in a 200,000-ton supertanker, the ballast could vield some 200 tons of dewaxed oil (which can be made into gasoline and other petroleum products). Beyond that, they can be harvested to produce about 150 tons of high-quality animal food.

Best of all, RAG-1 cannot harm other life in the ocean. "We took the bacteria from nature," says Gutnick. "They are there and they are fastidious about what they like and do not like." When the bacteria run out of oil, they conveniently die and are themselves eaten by fish.

The Cans That Came to Fredericksburg

AT first, it seemed like a worthy and public-spirited idea. The Fredericksburg, Va., realty office of Shannon & Luchs set aside \$2,200 and offered to pay le for each can found littering the local roadsides. Allas, the firm had underestimated the fervor of the environmental movement. Last week a parking lot adjacent to the realty office was buried under a mountain of cans.

all put into plastic bags. Ten ft. high and 190 ft. in diameter, the pile contained 585,156 cans brought in before the offer expired and another 100,000 or so that came in after the deadline.

That left Shannon & Luchs with two problems: 1) honoring the \$3,651.56 worth of IOUs that were given out when the original \$2,200 was exhausted, and 2) disposing of the cans. The realty company sought the help of local businessmen and collected \$700. The townspeople hope to meet the remaining people hope to meet the remaining big benefit dances. John the days of month. To the disappointment of artest environmentalists, all of the cans will eventually be buried as landfil; earlier plans to recycle the aluminum containers had to be abandoned. Reason: insufficient manpower to separate them sufficient manpower to separate them memers mountain of care.





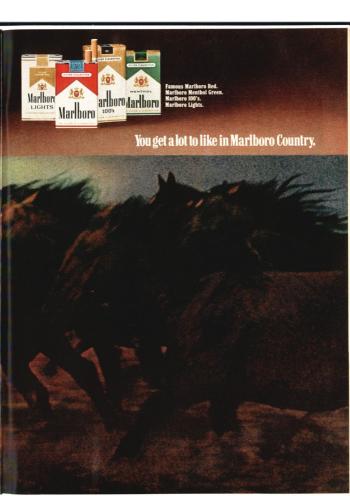
Ronrico. The rum with the bright taste.

Marlboro

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Lights: 13 mg.' tar," 1.0 mg. nicotine —

Menthol: 16 mg.' tar," 1.1 mg. nicotine — Kings: 18 mg.' tar," 1.3 mg. nicotine
100's: 19 mg.' tar," 1.5 mg. nicotine av ner cinarette FTC Benert Aun' 72





Your \$25 can feed a family for a month!

Some of the nicest families you'd ever want to meet are in a constant state of semi-starvation. They subsist day in and day out on a few greens, some peas... and maybe a little corn pone or fat back once in awhile.

Yes, right here in the U.S.A... as you read these words... there are thousands of hungry children throughout the deep South whose lack of nourishment is affecting their present health as well as the development of their minds and bodies.

The NAACP Emergency Relief Fund is aiding the needlest of these families through the federally sponsored Food Stamp Program. Under this program, \$25 can buy an average of over \$200 worth of urgently needed meat, milk, and bread

for the hungry. An amount you might normally spend to take your family out for one dinner can feed a large family for a month! As one donor recently wrote—"where else can my modest donation do so much!"

Please help us in this effort by sending as little or as much as you can to the NAACP Emergency Relief Fund. Contributions are tax-deductible. Thank you.





PLAY-OFF MVP WILLIS REED

Knack of the Knicks

Going into the N.B.A. finals against the New York Knicks the Los Angeles Lakers figured that their primary gold was to stop Wall Frazier, who led the Knicks through the first two rounds of 24 points a game. Stop him they did in the first game, holding Frazier to 12 points as they outlasted the New York. 115-112 But the Knicks have made are ligion out of the old the New York. Actient Captain Willis Reed pointed out. "Any guy might do it for us—the fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth man."

In the next four games, in fact, the Knicks' top scorers were Forward Bill Bradley, 26 points; Center Reed, 22: Forward Dave DeBusschere, 33; and Guard Earl Monroe, 23. Together they added up to four straight wins and the second N.B.A. title for the Knicks.

Said Reed, who was presented with a Most Valuable Player award that could have been divided eight ways: "In the end it was our poise that held us together." Poise with a punch. The Knicks' triumph, in fact, has given the in the clarion call of the rabid Knick fans: "Dee-fense!" A relatively small team, the New Yorkers intimidate not by brute force but with a clawing finesse that presses the limits of the rules. Reed handled Laker Center Wilt Chamberlain, for example, with muscular simplicity: he leaned against the giant like a buttress. The result is not dirty or even roughhouse play but what the players like to call a "physical game"-the prac-

tice of deftly throwing your weight around to keep your opponent "honest." As Laker Coach Bill Sharman summed up the series: "Their defense really stopped our running game cold."

The Baltimore Game

For former Oriole Superstar Frank Robinson, who is now with the California Angels, the return to Baltimore's Memorial Studium for the first time in two years was something of a five very least was something of a five very former between the control of the contr

Ever since the ancient Indian game was introduced in Baltimore, it has been as much a local institution as crab cakes and H.L. Mencken. Each spring the city's schoolboys break out their lacrosse sticks the way kids in other cities limber up with Louisville Sluggers. At Johns Hopkins, foremost of the more than 100 U.S. colleges now competing in the sport, lacrosse is the No. 1 athletic attraction, drawing twice as many spectators as football and basketball combined. Thus it is no surprise that the Blue Jays enter the first round of the N.C.A.A. tournament this week with a strong chance of winning their 30th national lacrosse title

Lacrosse, as one afficionado puts it, is "basketbal played on a football field with a club and a slow whistle." The tenman teams are constantly on the move, passing and catching the hard rubber ball in the triangular nylon net at the end of their sticks. The game puts a premium on speed, we may a guardle of the passing the properties of the properties

The modern version of the game follows the spirit if not the rules of the old tribal pastime. Called lacrosse by French missionaries because the curved hickory sticks reminded them of a bishop's crosier, the game as played by Iroquois braves or Blue Jay undergrads is more riot than religious rite. Civilization and 300 years have brought such refinements as helmets and shoulder pads. Even so, the basic game plan still holds that the next best thing to scoring a goal is administering a crunching body check. Johns Hopkins Coach Bob Scott, a former Army ranger, says that football has its more jarring moments but that "lacrosse is rougher than any other sport, including hockey."

At most Johns Hopkins homecomings, the old grad, gather in the Lacrosse Hall of Fame, which is attached to the fichlouse, guzzle National Bohemian beer and reminisce about the glory years. Rie 1932 when the Blue Jays way speed before a throng of 80,000. The beer was flowing as usual this year, but the last of the state of the state of the transition of the state of

Thomas, nicknamed "Popeye" as much for his heroic feats afield as for his jut-jawed resemblance to the cartoon character, was too much for the real-life sailors from Navy. Though off his customary dodging, quick-cutting form, the wiry (5 ft. 11 in., 170 lbs.) Thomas scored one goal, set up four others and scooped up twelve ground balls-a skill roughly akin to recovering a fumble in a free-swinging football pile-up. Backed by Goalie Les Matthews, who made twelve saves, and Defenseman Jim Ferguson, who meted out his share of bruises, the Blue Jays outlasted the midshipmen 12-7 to register their ninth consecutive victory

For Thomas, whose fasher is a high school lacrosse coach in the Baltimore area, it was back to the drawing board—the family's dimig-room table in Towson, Md. There, like retired British officers re-enacting the Boer War, the Thomases use ten salt shakers to diagram new plays. Young Jack, who quarterbacks the Johns Hopkins' football cam mainly became playins' football area mainly became playins' football cam mainly became playins' football cam mainly became playins' football the play football t



God's Muscle

When God created man he set him up to score big in life. He put Adam on first base and gave him a choice: he could run with God and never get thrown out—or he could ruy it on his own. Adam choes to go it alone and was nailed. In fact, the attempted stead hast'l recovered. God never meant for it to be so difficult. He sent a pinch runner, Jesus Christ...

However inelegant that sweatsoaked version of the Gospel according to the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, muscular metaphors are nothing new to Christianity. St. Paul wrote. 'I have the race.' What is new and startling is that hundreds of prominent athletes are practicing locker-room piety alongside the swingers of sport. In a year when many church agencies are promoting many church agencies are promoting ship of athletes is a cleer way to make religion attractive to the young.

tergent analysis of the young.

LETES, started in 1955, has a mailing list of 55,000 and a stall of 36. Its purpose: "to confront athletes and coaches—and through them the youth of the nation with the challenge and adventure of following Christ." The high point of its casygoing program is a series of week-caygoing program is a series of week-caygoing program is a series of week-attention of the series of

ATHERES IN ACTION, a newer, more specialized group, follows the hard-sell evangelism of its parent organization, Campus Crusade for Christ. It has a staff of 200, and sponsors eleven amateur athletic teams and other special events, drawing campus crowds to hear evangelistic messages.

The two organizations field a growing number of clean-living Christian headliners, such as Dallas Cowboys Coach Tom Landry (who this month becomes F.C.A. president), U.C.L.A. Basketball Coach John Wooden, baseball's Brooks Robinson, and basketball's Bob points in the N.B.A. Retired Cleveland Browns Defensive End Bill Glass has even become a full-time evanelist.

Pro football becomes a substitute American religion on many a fall Sunday, but most of the teams now have their own weekly prayer meetings. This spring, while teammates are spending the off-season selling insurance or illindered to the off-season selling insurance in the off-season selling in the off-season selling insurance or illing insurance or illing insurance in the off-season selling insurance or illing insurance or illing



MIAMI DOLPHINS' NORM EVANS PREACHING

At Henderson High, Atlanta Falicons Linebacker Greg Brezina told of thricea-week drunks den dendess fights with his wife before his conversion. On the control of the control of the control cept myself. What else does it do? It makes me able to stand here today and say "I love you' to a black man, where two years ago I couldn't have done that." Brezina grew up in rural Texas; his suburban audience was all white. When the control of the control of the control before his quietly broke. One needs barriers over the years.)

Meanwhile, the lure of four football Cardinals and a weekend of sports had drawn 110 high schoolers to a Kiwanis-owned camp south of St. Louis, sponsored by the local F.C.A. chapter, group discussions, reasoning that even Jesus formed a "huddle" with his disciples. But the boys were more anxious to break from the huddle and get to the playing fledt's Still, after lights-out that right, one cabin of boys had an insolve the control of the still of the still of the solve the control of the still of the still of the solve the cabin of boys had an insolve the card to the still of the still of the solve the card to the still of the still of the solve the card to the still of the still of the solve the still of the still of the still of the solve the still of the still of

The spiritual Olympics are disarmingly ecumenical. Both F.C.A. and A.I.A. are Evangelical Protestant, but they do not ask many questions, and feature many Roman Catholics including 1971-72 All-Pro Quarterback Roger Staubach. The F.C.A. has actively sought Catholic participation for years and schedules daily Masses at its

Some critics find a basic conflict between the aggression and ego worship of sports and authentic Christianity. Sports evangelism reds to worship success, although F.C.A. at least, also cess, although F.C.A. at least, also the world. Beyond that, most of the heavyweight preachers are theological lightweights, as adopt at presenting the complexities of Christian belief and bhilical interpretation as most pastors would be at quarterbacking the Detroit Lions a la George Plimpton. But if Lions a la George Plimpton objectify thin, no-weat Christianity, as do many churches these days.

Brother André's Heart

Star of the oratory, and the subject of much of its religious chrome plating, is the man for whom it was built —a semiliterate French-Canadian orphan named Alfred Bessette, better

IOWA F.C.A. LEADERS IN "HUDDLE"





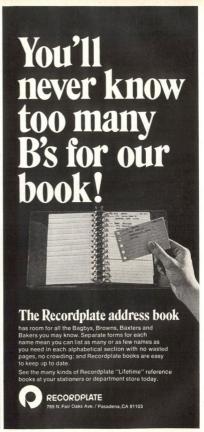
MONTREAL'S MIRACULOUS BROTHER ANDRÉ Free parking and a French chef.

known as "Brother André, the miracle man of Mount Royal." As a religious brother, Bessette served for 40 years as doorkeeper and handyman of Notre Dame College, a boys' school at the foot of the hill. He was humble, devout and frail, a sufferer from chronic dyspepsia. But he had, it is claimed, miraculous healing powers.

By invoking the favors of St. Joseph, his patron saint, and handing out bottles of burned sacramental olive oil, Brother André reportedly cured as many as 15,000 crippled, blind and dying pilgrims a year. When he died in 1937, at the age of 91, half a million people filed past his bier, and Brother André was put up for sainthood.

His case is still pending in the Valcian. At the oratory, in the meantime, he is being accorded the full trappings of a saint. The oratory publishes a comic book about his life, sells bottles of his 'SL. Joseph's oil," and maintains a tiny wooden chapel that he built as a hoty place. Inside the eatherfard, J.000-000 bigrims a year file past his marble tomb. Also in the gallery, until recenttion. The not the might of March 15, in one of the decade's more peculiar crimes, someone stole the heart.

The theft appeared professional. To get at the heart, the thieves picked three locks to open a steel door and an iron grille, then chiseled the urn off its marble pedestal-all without attracting the security guards. It was a sort of grisly Rififi; yet no motive has been discerned A local newspaper received demands for \$50,000 in ransom, but they apparently came from cranks. By last week, although Montreal police still had two detectives on the case, the oratory's priests had given up hope. Whatever the motive, the thief may have been doing Brother André a favor. Enshrined in the templed glories of package-tour religion, the humble lay brother's heart was painfully out of place.



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WINNEBAGO

A Fantasy Becomes Real

Even as a successful music executive, Schuyler G. Chapin would sometive, Schuyler G. Chapin would sometime to the surface of the surface of the form a bottle and asking him what lee wanted most in life. Chapin would reply, "Tel like to be general manager of the Metropolitan Opera." Last week in New York, the genie delivered. After a full season as acting general manager (Thurk, March S), Chapin, 50, was given a three-year contract for the real thing—the most powerful job in opera.

It was a popular decision, if long in ming. Chapin had amply shown that he could run a smooth operation, and that it was possible to have aristocratic savoir-plare without resorting to the autocratic methods of former Met Manager Rudolf Bing. As many a diva has learned, Chapin's tact and graceloused on ot signal a relaxed will. He pushed



MET GENERAL MANAGER CHAPIN The genie delivered.

hard and successfully for the company's new Mini-Met, devoted to intimate or experimental operas in small halls with mostly young casts. To the Met staff's evident joy, he preserved and deepened he aura of good will between management and unions fostered by his predecessor. Girl in a car crash in Sardinia before he ever really had a chance to run the Met.

Until Gentele hired him as his No. 2 man. Chapin had never worked in an opera house. Instead, he had served eary on as a tour manager for Columbia Artists Management, later as head of Columbia Records' classical department, Lincoln Center's vice president for programming and executive producer of Leonard Bernstein's various television, film and musical enterprises.

Aside from Herbert Witherspoon, who died within weeks of taking over in 1935, Chapin is the Met's first Amer-

ican-born general manager in 77 years. It was appropriate therefore that Chpin should take the opportunity to announce, as his first official act as manager, that at long last Soprano Beverly Sills will make her Met debut in 1975 in Rossini's Siege of Corinth.

Pop Records

A Little Touch of Schmilsson in the Night (Harry Nilsson, RCA; \$5.98). Are there any surprises left in the record business? Two LPs after his auspicious transformation from pop poet to hard rocker, Nilsson steps forward as crooner of a dozen old goldies like As Time Goes By and I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now. Such an exercise in nostalgia is a precious fancy that Nilsson manages to bring off because his crooning is so fancy-free. He has an original crooning style that is notable for its freedom from the Sinatra mannerisms that have intimidated a generation of pop balladeers. Gordon Jenkins' luxurious stringand-wind arrangements lend added gilt.

light on a Faother (Chick Corea, pianist, Polydor; \$\$5.981. Imagine Sergio Mendes and Brasil 66 playing variations on Miles Davis and you get some idea of the results produced here by Jazz Pianist Chick Corea and his group Return to Forever. This is an ingenious blend of Latin, pop and jazz, both traditional and avant-garde.

Red Ros Speedowy (Paul McCartney Commiss, Sept 25, 98), Perhaps Mccartney's Deep 25, 18, Beatle album, Although to be come the pithy lyricist John Lennon was, and sometimes still is, Mc-Cartney remains a musical nonpareli, Rardy is he better than when dealing with blues-based material like this album's Get on the Right Thina.

Sont Jupin. The Rod Bank Bank (New-Begland Conservatory Ragitime Ememble, Gunther Schuller conducting, Angel; \$5.981, Rag is essentially piano music, but in Scott Jophins beodynrags were orchestrated for marching, singing, dancing and just plain strutting, rags were orchestrated for marching, singing, dancing and just plain strutting, pets), make goods and feishy trumpets), make goods mist around these days who—so far, at least—can match the cacading joy of these performances.

There Gots Beyond: Stone (Paul Simon, Claumbia; \$5.98). Simon's second solo album since bis breakup with Art Garfunkel testifus anew to a major talent testifus anew to a major talent the stone of the

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CINEMA

Precious Cameo

LOVE

Directed by KAROLY MAKK Screenplay by TIBOR DERY

This exceptionally fine Hungarian film about death and renewal is made with a sort of serene melancholy, a rich understanding of the tone and textures of mortality. It is a quiet movie, of short focus but great perspective in its untroubled contemplation of the measure of loss.

Love derives much of its strength from the fine accumulation of gesture and detail that Director Makk has worked into the modest fabric of his story. An old lady (Lili Darvas), nearly 100 and dying with dignity and resignation from the kind of fatigue that cannot be diagnosed or reversed, lies all day in her bed, tended by a maid and by her daughter-in-law Luca (Mari Torocsik). The old lady lives in a twilight of memory, where past and present tend to flow together into a kind of futureimperfect tense. The room is kept clean and carefully lit, although both the room itself and the world outside look dour and gray, as if everything were being drained of color and of life, like the old lady herself.

Only her memories have any radiance. She thinks of riding through a misty forest, of a broad hat ribbon of black silk bought for her as a present by her husband, of a holiday with her family, all of them together in a small hotel room. Sometimes there are only bright flashes of objects recalled: a pair of spectacles, a boat, a book, a favorite husband.

Luca encourages the old lady's reveries and replenishes her fantasies with letters apparently from her son Janos, who is said to be making a film in America. In fact, he is a political prisoner, serving a ten-year term for some unspecified crime against the state. Luca keeps this from the old lady, and instead constructs letters with elaborate lies about his success and about the richness of America. The old lady reads the letters with a large magnifying glass, thrilling to each detail like a child hearing a fairy tale, relishing the deception they represent even as, in some way, she seems to understand it.

Makk and his two superb actresses excel at capturing the ambivalences between the old lady and her daughter-in-law, the mingling of affection and exsperation, rivalry and devotion. Soon, but quietly, the old lady dies. Not long afterward, her son (Ivan Darvas) is re-



TOROCSIK & DARVAS IN "LOVE" Serene melancholy.

leased from prison, with as little warning and reason as he was first put there. He savors, almost timidly, the sudden essensations of freedom, then, a little anxiously, returns home to his wife. Luca tells him of his mother's passing, and he mourns, though not for long. In his wife he is reminded again of strength and of regeneration. The old lady's death is balanced.

There is not a moment of grandiloquence or sentimentality in Dery's



screenplay, which he adapted from two of his own short novels. Makk's direction is precisely orchestrated to reveal each separate tone and facet in his three characters. Darvas, once a leading lady with Max Reinhardt and the widow of Playwright Ferenc Molnár, has an air of slightly tenuous regality about her. She can suggest both the old lady's crustiness and her vulnerability without patronization. Her long, feeble fingers beating against her chest seem to be trying to tap again some vanished source of strength. Torocsik, equally extraordinary, brings qualities to her role that women on-screen seldom have outside the work of Ingmar Bergman: strength, resource and a constant dignity. As Janos, Ivan Darvas (no relation to Lili) conveys exactly the right feeling of confusion and displacement. He gives his fare to a trolley conductor as if he expects to have his hand slapped for impudence. At the end of his journey, waiting for his wife, he paces restlessly, uneasily. He is like a phantom in his own home. Jay Cocks

Quick Cuts

THEATER OF BLOOD is the giddy tale of a sugar-cured Shakespearean actor named Edward Lionheart (Vincent Price) who sets out to eliminate the London critics who have mocked and vilified him during his career. He kills each of them in a quite elaborate and grisly

fashion, every slaughter based on a scenario provided by the Bard: one hapless critic, for example, has his heart cut out (the pound of flesh in The Merchant of Venice), another is stabbed to death on the Ides of March. Worst torture of all, perhaps, is that the poor struggling wretches must listen to Lionheart declaim passages from the pertinent play before he kills them. Besides Price, who is at his most enjoyably fulsome, the large cast includes a bounty of fine British players: Diana Rigg, Ian Hendry, Milo O'Shea, Eric Sykes and, as those viperous but ill-fated critics, Harry Andrews, Coral Browne, Robert Coote, Jack Hawkins, Michael Hordern, Arthur Lowe, Robert Morley and Dennis Price. The movie is bright and, a good deal of the time, quite funny. It is farce as broad as Shaftesbury Avenue, but its high spirits are not entirely consistent with the great gobs of gore that Director Douglas Hickox leaves smeared about. Violence, under the circumstances, ought to have been a charade, but often it is so brutal and lingering that it spoils the joke.

FIRS OF FURY is such a shambles that Fingers of Death, the other Chinese battle hymn to Kung Fu that is currently cleaning up in the U.S. (TIME, May 14), looks by comparison like The Seven Samurai. The fights, which are plentiful but somehow lackadaisical, are all generated by the disappearance of several brothers who work down at the icehouse, where envelopes of white powder are frozen in the middle of each cake. Pressed to explain this, the plant manager says guilelessly: "There's no profit in ice. In dope, plenty." The hero, Bruce Lee, may be furious of fist, but he is decidedly slow on the uptake. He spends an extraordinary amount of time tracking down the archvillain. Finally, the two lock in combat on the villain's lawn. While they kick, chop and clobber each other, the road right beside the field of battle is fairly clogged with traffic. No one bothers to take a look, much less stops to help, an inadvertent suggestion of how quickly boredom can beset the martial arts.

L'AMOUR. Paul Morrissev-Andy Warhol movies are always something of a stalemate. It is impossible to determine exactly who receives more contempt and abuse, the people in the movies or the ones watching them. L'Amour ("presented" by Warhol, written and directed by Warhol and his protégé Morrissey) features the wrecking crew from The Factory, Warhol's New York homestead, transported to Paris, where they scratch and stammer through a plot that might be a low-camp rewrite of La Ronde. Michael (Michael Sklar) and Max (Max Delys) are lovers. Michael, wanting to get married for appearances only, becomes involved with Donna (Donna Jordan), while Max



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CINEMA

makes lanolin passes at Jane (Jane Forth). All have been encouraged to play someone approximating themselves, which does not mean there is any recognizable humanity to be seen, Warhol and Morrissey specialize in an especially cicious kind of ridicule, to which the actors eagerly sacrifice themselves.

WALENG TALL Anyone looking to set up a neighborhood vigilante group can get a good jolt of moral inspiration from his extravagantly violent saga of a lawman who fights the good, lonely fight against entrenhed forces of vice, corruption and cussedness. The screen credits insist that the movie is based on fact, although there is little in the film that seems human. There are, however,



BAKER IN "WALKING" Bashed heads.

a great many sequences of mayhem, so the film makers are careful to make up in shock whatever may be lacking in vertebrillitude

verisimilitude. The hero of the hour is an ex-Marine and itinerant wrestler named Buford Pusser (Joe Don Baker), who gets bashed and robbed in a roadhouse brawl. The constabulary is sympathetic but hardly helpful. Buford carves himself a truncheon, then goes back to bash some heads himself and reclaim what is rightfully his. Impressed with this display of retribution, the citizens of Mc-Nairy County, Tenn., elect him sheriff. Buford embarks on a campaign to bring all the villains to justice, using a strategy that leaves no room for the niceties of law. Walking Tall is as smugly and viciously self-righteous as its hero. By the film's end, when Pusser and the aroused citizens storm the gangster stronghold, the film has ceased to apologize for lawless reprisals and turned to openly supporting them.



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EDUCATION

Tempest in the Fishbowl

Ever since its founding in 1852, Antioch College has been a maverick. It was a pioneer in admitting women and blacks, adopting work-study methods of education and including students on policymaking committees. Now that relative calm has returned to most American schools, Antioch is still out of sync. Its main campus in rural Yellow Springs, Ohio, has been shut down for three weeks, and it is so divided by factional strife that many students and teachers question whether the college can survive. Says one disgruntled faculty member: "In the '50s, Antioch was considered one of the leading colleges in the country; now it is an experiment in anarchy.

Mace. Specifically, Antioch's experiments in educating the poor have led to serious financial and administrative strains that have aroused student militants. They struck the campus for six weeks last winter in support of cafeteria workers who had been laid off. Last week, scholarship students and their sympathizers picketed to extract a promise from trustees not to cut financial aid. College employees refused to cross picket lines to collect trash. As part of their protest, striking students piled it in front of the administration building. Professors could hold classes only in their own homes because militants refused to let them into college buildings. When one teacher tried to get to his office, he was sprayed with Mace. A fire of "suspicious nature" damaged a dean's office.

The 140-member Yellow Springs faculty is so demoralized, some professors say, that perhaps half would quit if teaching jobs were not so scarce. Among their complaints: the administration has been saving money by replacing full professors who retire with low-paid assistant professors; it is also considering abandoning the tenure system. Some professors believe the quality of the 2,300 students at the Yellow Springs campus has declined. The college once accepted only one out of four applicants. Now that applications have dropped, in part because of its troubled reputation. Antioch takes three out of four. It badly needs tuition, which provides 85% of its income. Last year it ran an overall deficit of \$600,000.

Antioch also has been unable to hire a dean of the college. Last spring the job was offered to Peter Conn, an associate dean at the University of Pennsylvania. He declined after being held captive in the College Inn for several hours by dissident students who preferred another candidate, Black Marxist Economist, Kenneth Mills of Yale.

At the center of all this controversy, and, some say, partly the cause of it, is President James P. Dixon (Antioch, '39; Harvard Medical School, '43, who was serving as Philadelphia's commissioner of health when named to head his alma mater in 1959. Usually chomping on a half-smoked cigar that sprinkles asked own his rumpleed blue pole shirt. Discovering the common state of the common

Dixon's early years were not marred by controversy. Under his leadership, Anioch abolished grades, vigorously. Anioch abolished grades, vigorously recruited black students and experimented with dropping all required freshman courses. He was well liked by both faculty and students. Says Striker Jamie Dahlberg: "He used to be a really great guy, But something happened in mot sure what." In 1970 Dexon and Immost user when the properties of the

To better serve impoverished students—both black and white—Antioch brought large numbers of them from urban slums to Yellow Springs, where they required scholarships and loans to year. Despite its altruism, the program has backfired. Many of the needy recruits, who now total about 10% of the student body, were ill prepared for college work, or for life in a rural middleclass commonly. The presence has and poor, black and white.

Under Dixon, Antioch also created an empire of subsidiary campuses —some to try out innovations in teaching, others to bring an Antioch education to even greater numbers of underprivileged youngsters. In addition to the Yellow Springs campus, three satellites based in the Washington, D.C., area award degrees. Antioch also organized some 25 centers in the U.S. and abroad where students can take some of their courses.

The centers were supposed to be self-supporting, but many required start-up money from Antioch and some are still operating in the red. The program severely strained the college's resources and split Yellow Springs into feuding factions. Complains Humanities Professor George Geiger. "The money is being drained out of here to finance the other campuses."

Such criticism scarcely ruffles Dixon. He operates on a theory of "creative conflict," believing that change comes only through confrontation. "In









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EDUCATION

any given set of circumstances," he says, "there is always the question of how much displacement, distortion and contained in the contained and the containe

Balance Sheet

The chief concern on most campuses is still money. A month ago, the Carengie Commission on Higher Education negie Commission on Higher Education ous cost cutting had arrested a slide toward bankruptcy (TIME, April 23). The ward bankruptcy (TIME, April 23). The the stays may be temporary. Since then, and there have been additional data from the the financial front that spell good tidings for professors and administrators but distinctly but news for parents:

▶ The American Association of University Professors reported that for the first time in three years, faculty salaries rose faster than the cost of living. Its survey of 1,179 colleges and universities found that salaries in 1972-73 rose 4.1% over the previous year while, ac-cording to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of living went up 3.3%. Still, the professors did not fare as well as the average American, whose per capita income rose 7.7% last year. The survey disclosed that the best-paid faculty members were at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, where the average professor is paid \$30,303 in salary and fringe ben-efits for nine months' work; the New School for Social Research, where the average is \$25,133; and Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, where it is \$24,-371. Harvard, which once ranked first, dropped to sixth place (\$23,688)

The Council for Financial Aid to Education reported that private gifts to colleges and universities totaled a record \$2.00 billion that year, up 8.6% from 1971. The reason: foundations increased their contributions by 25%, to \$427 million. Harvard, which usually tops the list of beneficiaries, reaching \$46.5 million last year. But it was edged out of first place by Emory, which retorded to the state of the properties of the power amonymous foundation grafts totaling more than \$50 million grafts totaling more than \$50 million.

▶ Each year it costs more to go to college, and 1973-74 will be no exception. The U.S. Office of Education etution from and board—not including other costs, such as books, clothing and entertainment—will go up about €% next fall, to \$3,281 at private campusment fall, to \$3,281 at private campusdant other private campusand other private East Coast schools are still the most expensive. Columbia warm is students to expect to pay \$5,480 for tuition, room and board next will charge \$5,400. and Bennington will charge \$5,400. and Bennington



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MILESTONES

Divorced. Leontyne Price. 46, the first black to sing a major role at the Metropolitan Opera; and William Warield. 35, barrel-chested baritone of stage, screen (Show Boar) and concert half, after 21 years of marriage, no children; in Manhattan, Price and Warfield with let was starring as Porgs, she as Bess, in the '50s revival of the George Gershwin opera, which was the control of tune, and the two were legally separated in 1967.

Divorced. Sveltana Alliluyeva Fees, 47. Joseph Stalin's only daugher, who made headlines in 1967 by defer; the total stalin's only daugher, who made headlines in 1967 by defergiples with her memoirs of life with papa; and William Wesley Peters, 60, chief architect of the Wright Foundation and former husband of Frank Lloyd Wright's late daughter Sveltana; after three years of marriage, one child; in Phoenix, Ariz. Sveltana Illiuyeva married Peters after a three-week courtship, tented Peters after a three-week courtship to life in the architecture community. Taliesin West.

Died. Jack E. Leonard, 62, nightclub and TV comic who made the abrasive, one-line gag into an art form; of complications following heart surgery: in Manhattan. A onetime lifeguard, Leonard began competing in Charleston contests during the '20s, then graduated to the big-band circuit as a comedian. Portraying the angry, fast-talking fat man (his weight yo-yoed between 200 and 330 lbs.), he eventually became a frequent TV guest whose comedy format never varied-a skeleton routine augmented by ad-lib insults to audience and fellow performers alike. "I could be funny for hours on your show," he once told a rival comic, "but I wouldn't want to change the format."

Died. Abel Green, 72, editor for the past 40 years of *Variety*, the bible of show biz (see Show Business).

Died. Alexander A. ("Sunny Jim") Vandegrift, 86, commander of the U.S. Marine Corps assault on Guadalcanal and Bougainville islands during World War II; after a long illness; in Bethesda, Md. A quiet, courtly Virginian, Vandegrift directed the first U.S. land offensive against the Japanese when he led the 1st Marine Division onto Guadalcanal in August 1942. For three months his outnumbered men held their ground through bitter jungle fighting before reinforcements arrived, and for his leadership Vandegrift was awarded the Navy Cross and the Congressional Medal of Honor. The first active fourstar general in Marine history, he served four years as Marine Corps Commandant before retiring in 1947.



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The Hitler Revival: Myth v. Truth

THE spring of 1973 has brought a worldwide revival of interest in a mustachioed, vegetarian nonsmoker. An artist and architect, he was a firm believer in astrology and, though a speed freak, surrounded himself with people who preferred cocaine and morphine. His appeal to youth was legendary: he could hold an auditorium spellbound for hours with a vocal solo. He died underground, committing suicide in protest against a social climate that he found oppressive.

All the same, Adolf Hitler's presence never vanishes. His career is still the fundamental trauma of the century, the wound through which our shared humanity leaks. Yet it is a disconcerting thought that grandparents are alive today who were not born when World War II broke out. Since it ended, Hit-

ler's life has furnished material for a thousand historical theses. But of late it has moved into the twin fields of memoir and entertainment. Since Albert Speer's Inside the Third Reich was published in 1970, one might suppose that everyone who had anything to do with the Führer, from general to cook, had been signed up for paperback. Five new volumes of Hitleriana have recently come out in English, and a brace of feature-length films-with more to come -have been readied. Morbid curiosity again? Not quite. Each is instructive in its own way. The first to be released in the U.S.-it opened last week in New York-is Hitler: The Last Ten Days, a retelling of what must be the bestknown suicide since Cleopatra's. Sir Alec Guinness is the star

Guinness's performance is obviously based on a close reading of the sources. The habits are ticked off one by one, amid the slow disintegration of personality: the stiff, corseted movements, the crescendos of temper, the harsh, mesmeric voice grinding out its long postprandial diatribes against traitors, smokers and meat eaters. The words rebound from the elephant-colored walls of the bunker as once they had echoed down the parade grounds of the Third Reich. Hitler's pallid hand, shaking from Dr. Morell's amphetamine capsules, spoons dollops of Schlag onto a slab of chocolate cake. The movie is the world's most overdocumented Grand Guignol, the phantom of history's opera at bay in the foundations of the Führer's falling theater.

And that is precisely the trouble with the film. Perhaps any dramatic version, no matter how well acted or researched, must end as an opera about an opera. Götterdämmerung at two removes. We know about the myth of Hitler. It has saturated our culture. Our stock image of murderous power is not Stalin quietly chewing a pipe, but Hitler noisily chewing a carpet. The details slip; not so many people nowadays know or care who Baldur von Schirach was or what the Roehm putsch signified. But the broad trajectory of Hitler's career, let alone its grisly climax in the bunker, is still as familiar and very nearly as mythic to Westerners as the deeds of Antichrist were to men in the Middle Ages

This is not, of course, an accident. Hitler himself would have approved the mythic stature (if not the odium) that posterity has accorded him: his entire life was conceived as a pro-

digious drama-"Qualis artifex pereo!" as Nero is supposed to have said ("What an artist dies with me!"). Even the name of his superstate, the Tausendjahrige Reich, or Thousand-Year Reich, was derived from prophetic myths about the Christian millennium: a time when, after a cosmic battle between Christ and Antichrist, the forces of evil are locked away forever, the dialectic of history is abolished, and a reign of permanent, static harmony prevails over the earth. So it happens that whoever plays Hitler in a movie, or how well, is not of much more than aesthetic consequence—no more, say, than the compar-isons between one Siegfried and another. The role is always greater than its actors, and its nightmarish content has become somewhat abstract. Nor will the rise of some future Hit-

ler be discouraged by the belief that the Führer was a demon. The demonic, in human affairs, is generally an oversimplification. With Hitler, it is also a refuge. We do not like to diminish ourselves by admitting him to our species: so we take his own delusions at face value, and tend to suppose that he was not human, but an embodiment of some elemental will of history. The only corrective is to see him for what he was: a

If the present revival of interest in Hitler signifies anything beyond kinky fashion and souvenir hunting-the sort of impulse that, for years, has retained the jackboot and Hakenkreuz as essential furniture in the theater of sadomasochistic imagination-it means that a degree of impatience with the demonic image has set in. What concerns the modern audience, and made Speer's memoir the bestseller it deservedly was, is not Hitler's myth but his documentary truth. What, beginning with his humanness, did he have in common with the people around us and with ourselves? What on earth was he like?

No movie can fully answer that question, but any film that can give a partial reply, in documentary terms seems automatically destined for success. The only candidate for honors among the revival flicks is a remarkable documentary called Swastika. Produced by 36-year-old Englishman Sanford Lieberson (Performance) and directed by a 23-year-old Australian newcomer named Philippe Mora, it began as a research job on the copious sur-

viving archives of Nazi film after Lieberson bought the rights to Speer's Inside the Third Reich. But what altered the film makers' intentions was the discovery, by Film Historian Lutz Becker, of Hitler's own home movies-some five hours of Agfacolor stock, shot mainly by Eva Braun and her friends, of the Führer and his court relaxing (if that is the word) in his mountain retreat at Obersalzberg. The film had been lying unnoticed in the U.S. Marine archives in Washington since 1946. Only a fraction of it was usable, partly because Eva Braun had a dumb love of mountain views, and expended miles of film in slow, jiggly pans across the misty peaks. What remains is the only off-the-record view that exists of Hitler's home life. and it lends Swastika an extraordinary fascination

Admittedly, the situation resembles the old Sherlock Holmes solution of a crime because of the curious behavior



of the dog in the nighttime-curious because the dog did nothing in the nighttime. The banality of this view of Hitler at ease is the message, as always with home movies. Most of Swastika consists of previously unused material from professional Nazi films, mainly propaganda and newsreel, tightly edited together so as to present the illusion that Mora had sent a documentary team 40 years back into the Reich. The home movies make it seem as though Andy Warhol tagged along too. The Teuton waving his hairy green hat appreciatively at an Alp might be any German tourist, but-you realize with a start -it is Martin Bormann. There are scraps of conversation, no more. Hitler scans a speech manuscript through a large magnifying glass on the breezy terrace with Speer looking over his shoulder. He looks up. "Very interesting," the Führer remarks, in a line straight out of Laugh-In. Hitler's doctor appears; he describes how he has come to suspect a link between smoking and lung cancer. "Disgusting," the patient snaps. Nobody is at

ease with him. Goebbels, rigidly clasping an umbrella pole, hastily jettisons a cigarette stub when Hitler appears.

Such disconnected nuances reveal a truth that formal history can hardly capture, and they are in absolute contrast to the craft of acting. In the Guinness film, Eva Braun was played as a glamour puss, vaguely resembling Dominique Sanda. The real version was otherwise: a giggling, curly blonde Aryan laugh at this breathtaking kitsch. It is chilling; no level of folk culture could be impervious to the message. Such was the nature of cultural totalitarianism. Every image was skewed to point to the Führer—but otherwise left intact.

The high-culture implications of Nazism are just as extraordinary. Since the Hitler revival has already multiplied the rare-book price of first editions of Mein Kampf, it cannot be long before the surviving fragments of official Nazi art swell the auction rooms. But most of the monuments perished under the bombs, or were blown up for target practice. None of the bronze Muscle Beach colossi designed by Hitler's favorite sculptor, a pupil of Maillol named Arno Breker, have survived; the plasters for them ran to over 100 ft. high, iceberg parodies of Michelangelo and Bernini. Such disappearances are no aesthetic loss, but they leave a gap in cultural history. We can only imagine but not experience the dimensions of Nazi gigantism. Albert Speer, Hitler's architect, provides a fascinating example of what genius can produce in the complete absence of taste. The tradition to which Speer's projects belong-the immense stadia, the dome 16 times the volume of St. Peter's, the dwarfing colonnades-is only superficially that of classicism; he was the totalitarian heir to the idealist architects of the 18th century like Boullee and Ledoux, to whom architecture was a sustained metaphor. Speer's axial planning was determinism in action. His work was an inflatio ad absurdum of the idea that art should communicate directly with the people. Yet, in the grossly pragmatic terms that Hitler laid down, there is no movement in the art and architecture of modern democracy whose works so demonstra bly turned on so many viewers. What Busby Berkeley could compete with the crushing, rectilinear choreography of a Nürnberg rally, or with its obsessive power over the mass mind? What light show today could rival Speer's "cathedral of light"



MORA'S "SWASTIKA": HITLER & CHILDREN; SALUTING; EVA NUDE

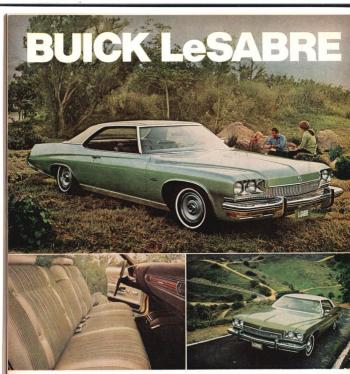
squaw, smooching with a rabbit, proudly doing calisthenics on the beach of the Kõnigsee, or coquetishly persuading the Scourge of History to screen Gone With the Wind just once again because she loves Clark Gable. Allowing for variations of costume and language, these domestic scenes could be happening today, anywhere from San Diego to the Black Sea beaches. Hannah Arendr's famous phrase about the banality of evil acquires a fresh bloom.

It is brilliantly amplified in the "official" footage from which Mora has put together an impressionistic tour of the culture of Nazism. No other film has given so strong a sense to the prevision of the programmers, or the methodical detail with which are officially considered to the constraint of the constraints of the constraints of the constraints of the ships have footbest cameramen, filming the gnarled peasants at work or the shins, hopeful faces of village children baking festive rolls in the shape of swantias, were building on the most potential traditions of 10th central constraints of the constraints of t

at Zeppelin Field in 1934, with its 130 searchlight beams forming a vast nocturnal hall whose walls were 25,000 ft. high, with clouds drifting through them? The

grotesque apotheosis of art deco as an embracing social style did not happen in New York or Paris but in Nazi Germany, with its finned and slab-sided eagles, its formalized athletes with ripple hair, its obsessively "classical" modernismus. Hitler's puritan vulgarity is the exact opposite of the libertarian vulgarity of present Western culture, but one may still illuminate the other. And the "Hitler wave"-raised not by political nostalgia but by a curiosity that shades into voyeurism —may do just that. If we persist in treating the culture of Nazism as a plague hospital sealed in 1945, which cannot be entered and inspected without the certainty of infection, we only contribute to the myth. Myths do not die easily-witness the cautious resurrection of Stalin-and they cannot be laughed out of existence. Only if Hitler is anchored in human reality will he stay dead. If not, he will continue as he has been since 1945: a nightmare of history, from which we cannot wake. Robert Hughes





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PRODUCTION

A Troubling Tidal Wave

AS consumers and businessmen con-tinue to step up their buying, growing numbers of key industries are caught in a tidal wave of orders that is clogging production lines and slowing shipments. Such industries as steel, lumber and aluminum are operating at or close to capacity. In addition, more and more manufacturers with available space and equipment are unable to crank up facilities fast enough to meet the torrent of new business. The results are spreading shortages and a sharp upswing in industrial prices. These are classic symptoms of demand-pull inflation, in which too many dollars chasing too few goods bid up prices and wages until the economy bursts into a recession

Last week the National Association of Purchasing Management reported that its members believe that the economy may be close to "running wild." No fewer than 73% of the buyers polled in the association's latest monthly survey disclosed that their industries were either operating "beyond capacity" or between 90% and 100% of their potential. A total of 95% of the buyers believed that prices would continue to rise in 1973, especially for such increasingly scarce items as copper, steel, zinc, transformers, electrical components, machine parts, wire, plastics and leather. Lags in production schedules, the survey notes, are forcing purchasing agents to order farther and farther in advance. For example, 21% of the buyers polled were ordering more than 180 days ahead in April, v. 14% in March and a mere 6% in December

Despite the still high national unemployment rate of 5%, executives in such industries as textiles and autos report that they are having trouble hiring enough workers to keep production humming. This has led some economists to believe that because of the rapid increase in the numbers of women and teen-agers seeking jobs, a shortage of certain kinds of skilled labor can exist even with relatively high jobless rates. Shortages of raw materials are also impeding production. Joseph Barron, director of general purchasing for Ashland Oil Inc., puts it this way: "In the chemical field, there is not enough styrene because benzene is short; benzene is short because crude oil is

Big Surge. By far the biggest strain on production is the rapid surge in demand from consumers flush with rising incomes and businessmen raking in record profits. The steel industry is working at realistic capacity for the first time since the mid-1950s. Production has climbed to an unprecedented 3,000,000 ingot tons a week. Still, mills cannot keep pace with demand. Orders placed now for sheet steel will not be filled until August; buyers of stainless will have to wait even longer. Steelmen believe that customers are buying steel now before prices go higher. Last week U.S. Steel jacked up the cost of sheet and strip steels by an average 4.8%, effective June 15.

Textile manufacturers, who only a short time ago had substantial idle capacity, are going full tilt. Says Donald Comer Jr., of Avondale Mills in Syla-

cauga, Ala.: "We are using our machines 24 hours a day in three shifts." The auto industry is also racing flat out, but its dealers' stockpiles are nonetheless dwindling. Car makers like to keep about a 60-day supply of cars in transit or on dealers' lots. Now the supply covers sales for only 48 days.

The rush of orders is helping to push businessmen into a surge of modernization and expansion. The latest McGraw-Hill survey shows that corporations plan to spend \$105.5 billion for new plant and equipment this year, a leap of 19% over last year, and about 5% higher than the Commerce Department was predicting two months ago. In plant investment, says Economist Walter Heller, "we have gone from an expansion to a boomlet to a boom." It should be restrained, he says. by suspending either the investment tax credit or the accelerated depreciation allowance.

Administration economists claim that the Government already has done all that will be necessary to cool the boom gently, by holding down the growth of credit and federal spending. Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, is confident that the frenetic growth of the last two quarters will slow as the boom itself causes more tax money to be siphoned out of the economy (income tax collections grow automatically as pay and profits swell). Shortages of credit and climbing interest rates, in Stein's view, will cool the enthusiasm of businessmen wanting to borrow for further expansion. Perhaps-but meanwhile worries mount. Economist Beryl Sprinkel, an Administration supporter, spoke for many politicians, businessmen and consumers last week when he said, "This is the unhappiest boom I have ever lived through."



TIME MAY 21 1973

THLING ORDER AT ALABAMA TEXTILE PLANT
A forment of new business, dwindling stockpiles and an economy running wild.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS



INSCORDING FARMER FREING GAS FARK

Sharing the Shortage

OIL

As the summer driving season approaches, high-compression concern has been building up among the motoring public over the shortage of gasoline. Nearly 2,000 independent filling stations across the nation have either run out of gas completely or are staying open only on a day-to-day basis. Officials in Boston, Atlanta and Des Moines have had trouble finding any distributors willing to supply city vehicles with gas. Tugboats have been stranded on the Mississippi with empty tanks. Farmers fear running out of fuel for their tractors and irrigation systems. Some half a dozen Congressmen have been working on bills to give the President petroleum-rationing authority

So last week Deputy Treasury Secretary William Simon, chairman of the Government's Oil Policy Committee, announced an Administration plan to allocate petroleum supplies. The aim, Simon said, is "to share the shortages equitably." Basically, the measure asks major petroleum refiners and marketers to apportion their supplies to customers on the same basis as they did during the twelve months ended last September. Major oil companies have been shipping enough gasoline to their own name-brand filling stations, but they and independent refiners have been cutting off many small marketers-mostly cut-price, off-brand outlets. The victims have charged that the shortage was contrived to eliminate competition. Under the new guidelines, major oil companies will have to share their supplies of gasoline, even if it means reducing deliveries to their own stations. In addition, suppliers must be pre-

pared to provide extra rations to a number of specified "priority" customers, in-



SIMON ANNOUNCING ALLOCATIONS

cluding hospitals and ambulance fleets. police and fire departments, farmers, food processors and distributors, truckers, airlines and bus systems. To prevent unjustified windfalls, the majors must sell gasoline to the independents at the normal prevailing market price. The entire scheme will be administered by the Interior Department's Office of Oil and Gas. Compliance will be voluntary -much like Phase III wage and price controls-but if the Office of Oil and Gas receives a complaint about a recalcitrant oil supplier, its enforcers can slap a mandatory allocation scheme on the offender. If all goes well, many of the 562 filling stations that have shut down completely could open within a month.

The program merely spreads the gasoline shortneg around; it does nothing to increase supplies. Daily consumption of gasoline is running 6% ahead of last year's rate, but refinery production is not keeping pace. Oil company executives say that they are short of crude oil and that their catalytic-rackers are still in the process of switching back to gasoline from home heating oil.

Some politicians and bureaucras suspect that the shortage was contrived by the oil companies to force prices up authorize a pipeline to the oilfields of Alaska. The Federal Trade Commission is looking into oil-company marketing practices. Connecticul Attorney Generativa Companies to explain why gasoline is scarce. And Calafornia Assembly Speaker Robert Moretth has set three legislative committees.

For its part, the Administration has Port in the Administration has provided the committees.

stepped up its low-key exhortations to Americans to conserve fuel. Simon suggested that employers stagger work hours to avoid traffic jams, that commuters form car pools or take mass transit, and that all motorists curtail nonessential driving, use car air conditioners sparingly, and drive more slowly in order to improve gasoline mileage. Otherwise, Simon says, Congress might have to impose a nationwide 50-m.p.h. speed limit on U.S. highways.

NEGOTIATIONS

Tranquillity's End One of the more heartening devel-

opments in this year of expiring labor contracts has been the restraint shown by big unions in their demands for pay boots. A case in point was the settlement between the United Rubber Workers and Goodyear Tire and Bubber of the Policy of t

contract between the U.R.W. and Goodyear, the largest firm in the industry, had been ratified by the narrowest possible margin in the union's executive board. Further, it was rejected by the U.R.W.'s biggest local, Akron No. 2, whose president, John Nardella, is threatening an unprecedented petition drive among rank and filers to have it rescinded. Faced with that kind of pressure, union representatives struck a tougher stance in their dealings with fourth-ranking Goodrich and refused an offer that both sides agree was somewhat more generous than the settlement with Goodyear. The bargaining was further complicated by some issues pecu-liar to Goodrich. These include the company's rumored plans to shut down several antiquated plants in Akron and set up new facilities elsewhere, most probably in the South. Although faceto-face sessions and meetings with federal mediators were continuing, the outlook at week's end was for protracted

There are other indications that the wage battle is heating up. In Washington, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters told representatives of the trucking industry that it wants a 50e -or 8%-hourly increase for each of the next three years of a new contract. The union is also asking for removal of the current ceiling on cost of living increases, a demand that the industry's chief negotiator, C.G. Zwingle, denounced as "shocking." Nobody expects the Teamsters to get more than a 40ean-hour raise, but even that would exceed the Phase III guidelines and encourage other unions whose contracts expire later this year to up the ante.

What has the unions backs up is a policy of inflation control that they consider discriminatory. Asserting that the

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ECONOMY & BUSINESS

Administration continues to hold wage boosts within guidelines while allowing corporate profits and interest rates to ire unchecked, the AFL-Clo's executive council said last week that it is no long-er'reasonable to expect the trade union movement to coursel moderation of wage increases. "Just how immoderate the wage increases." Just how immoderate the chief of the profit of th

EXECUTIVES

Consultant, Heal Thyself

Management consultants, those freelance high priests of an arcane science, earn their living by helping other companies solve problems. Lately, though, many have been hard-pressed to solve their own. Faced with waning profits and a changing market for its services, the \$25 billion-a-year consulting over in its own top executive suites.

In the past 18 months, nearly a doz-

en major consulting firms have changed their chief executives. At McKinsey & Co., the largest, with billings of about \$45 million last year, C. Lee Walton Jr. stepped aside last month as managing director after tiring of administrative burdens. At Booz, Allen & Hamilton, the second largest (consulting billings: \$18 million), James W. Taylor was fired in January as president over policy disagreements with Chairman Charles Bowen-after the company's stock had fallen from 24 to 51 in three years. At Arthur D. Little, the third largest (billings: nearly \$18 million), Howard O. McMahon resigned in November 1971 after two years of earnings declines; his replacement, John F. Magee. last month launched a reorganization of the company. In addition, other firms among the industry's top 30 have gone through major management shake-ups. They include H.B. Maynard Co., a Pittsburgh-based subsidiary of Planning Research in Los Angeles; Science Management of Moorestown, N.J.: Lester B. Knight & Associates and George Fry Consultants, both of Chicago; Spencer Stuart & Associates and Boyden Associates of New York.

The industry has long had a built-in problem; good-advice gives are not necessarily good administrators. Many of the recently departed executives are former consultants who had resulted to the consultants who had resulted sumption that if a man is a good consultant, he does not want to be president in a large firm," says Earl W. Eames of Manhattan's Wright Associates. Beyond that, a number of importance of the consultant in the consultant i



EX-McKINSEY CHIEF WALTON A changing market.

original offering price, breeding discontent among shareholders and managers. Part of the problem is that going public usually enriches a firm's original partners but not its younger and more energetic members who, because they can no longer become partners themselves, often become embittered and drift away. Though the firms charge as much as \$1,000 a day for the services of a partner, costs are rising fast: starting salaries for M.B.A. graduates have. more than doubled since the 1950s Lately, one of the industry's biggest customers, the Federal Government, has cut spending for consultants in many

The changing market for consulting services has made the industry even more precarious. In the past, major firms concentrated on such bread-and-butter subjects as cost cutting and inventory control. But many large corporations today have, in-house consulting staffs to handle those jobs, and professional consulting firms now counsel cli-



WRIGHT ASSOCIATES' EAMES Troubling transition.

ents on more advanced matters, like long-range corporate planning, job enrichment or pollution control. Such services are among the first to be cut if a client suddenly becomes cost-conscious or the economy takes a dip, and many companies that were moved by the recession to consider such advice a dispensable frill have yet to change their minds despite the swelling boom. In the quest for more business, many consultants are taking on institutional clients like hospitals, schools, art museums and state and municipal governments. The last often turn out to be slow payers and occasionally drag a firm into local politics. McKinsey & Co.'s billings with the city of New York dropped off abruptly because one of its consultants took on a nonpaying job with the city, prompting Mayor John Lindsay's political opponents to cry conflict of interest.

Despite immediate difficulties, the consulting industry's future may be surprisingly bright. The American Academy of Consultants predicts that billings will rise fivefold by 1980 as management techniques become increasingly complex. "There will always be a robust consulting industry if for no other reason than that you cannot replace objectivity," says James Kennedy. publisher of Consulting News, an industry newsletter. A study by Philip W. Shay, executive director of the Association of Consulting Management Engineers, indicates that Americans of executive age (35 to 55) will drop from 47% of the population to 38% by 1980. If so, then more and more corporations will have to turn to consultants for help -provided that the consulting industry can solve its own problems first.

Vesco in Costa Rica

In the two years since Robert Lee Vesco took control of Investors Overseas Services, the Geneva-based mutual fund empire created by Bernard Cornfeld, he has gone from virtual anonymity to worldwide notoriety. Last week he was indicted in the U.S. for conspiracy and obstruction of justice in connection with an unreported \$200,000 donation he made to President Nixon's re-election campaign. Vesco. 37, is also the chief target of one of the largest security-fraud suits ever brought by the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. Investigations of his activities have forced him to move his operations outside the regulatory reach of one country after another, from Switzerland. through France to the Bahamas. Now Vesco is trying to gain a beachhead for his operations in tiny Costa Rica and, as usual, his efforts are making waves.

Vesco's biggest problem is his increasingly tarnished reputation. Though he denies any wrongdoing, the SEC charges that he and his associates looted \$224 million from four I.O.S. managed funds, selling off gilt-edged stocks and stashing the money in various banks and dummy firms controlled.

DATSUN SAVES

About a gallon of gasoline a day.

With the demand for fuel rising faster than the supply, here's one way to help ease our energy crisis. According to the latest U.S. Bureau of Highways figures, the national average for gas mileage is about 13.5 miles per gallon. The new Datsun 1200 gets around 30 miles per gallon or over twice the national average. The average car in the U.S. is driven just over 10,000 miles a year, so you can

save about a gallor every day by drivir a 1200. With gasoline prices going up, it's a considerable saving of another important resource; your mon

source: your money. rive a Datsur...then decide.

DATSUN FROM NISSAN WITH PRIDE

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

by him or his associates. The commission's case to halt further alleged plundering of the funds is now before the courts.

Costa Rica has the potential of becoming a kind of financial Shangri-La for Vesco, and he has taken pains to win over some of the country's most powerful politicians. According to the SEC. one of the LO.S. funds, IIT, has made an unsecured loan of \$2,150,000 to Sociedad Agricola y Industrial San Cristobal, a firm founded and still partly owned by Costa Rican President José ("Don Pepe") Figueres, Says Figueres: "Vesco's investments here are very secure and creative. I can't understand the fuss." I.O.S.'s Fund of Funds allegedly plowed about \$60 million into Interamerican Capital, a Costa Rican investment firm that could well serve as a vehicle in securing for Vesco a firm financial foothold in the country. For a time, Alberto Inocente Alvarez, a Figueres confidant, headed the

Local businessmen view Vesco's budging money bags with a nervous ambivalence—as both a promise of much-needed investments and a threat to their control of local enterprises. Lately, Vesco's name has been linked with almost every sizable business deal in the country. Despite Vesco's denials, rumors perbugilts agas station network from Gulf Ol Corp. a big piece of San José's Royal Dutch Hotel, the El Molina coffee plantation, and a share of the anti-Figueres newspaper, La Nación. There even are wild rumors that he has linked

up with the ultimate business recluse, Howard Hughes. Until the Costa Rican Congress turned thumbs down, Vesco's attempt to set up an international free zone in the country drew an angry public outcry. The plan called for a financial district that would enact its own laws and regulate all banks and trusts in its area. Critics charged that the zone would become a pirates' sanctuary and attract shady operators from all over the world. Figueres' congressional opponents have been loudly castigating him for his close ties to Vesco. hoping to make the American financier's scandal-smirched background a political issue in the presidential elec-

tion next February. Meanwhile, Vesco goes on establishing himself in Costa Rica. Crateloads of furniture have arrived in San José from I.O.S. offices in France. Vesco has been granted a provisional Costa Rican passport and, according to Figueres, he intends to renounce U.S. citizenship. He has rented a chalet in a wooded area on the outskirts of San José and parks his private plane -a Boeing 707-at the San José airport. Yet for Vesco, the relentlessly ambitious son of a Detroit auto worker, San José, with no stock market and less than a dozen banks, is a pale substitute for Wall Street and other centers of financial power. As Vesco's problems pile up in the U.S., even this haven is none too snug. The opposition National Unification Party has already pledged that if it wins in February, Vesco's ouster from the country will be

LABOR

Public Workers' Powerhouse

At meetings of the AFL-CIO executive council, says one insider, the vote usually ranges from 25-to-1 to 34-to-1, depending on how many other union chiefs are present to vote down Jerry Wurf. While that may be an exaggeration, the 54-year-old Wurf, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, is certainly a mayerick in the stolid hierarchy of organized labor. He has bucked the AFL-CIO high command on such issues as the 1972 election (Wurf was strong for George McGovern, while the federation observed a pro-Nixon neutrality) and the Viet Nam War (he repeatedly opposed council resolutions in support of the war). Even so, Wurf is a growing power in the union movement, as Governors, mayors and county executives no longer need to be told.

Wurf commands the fastest-growing union in the entire AFL-CIO; its 614,-000-member ranks have tripled since he took over the union in 1964 in a rankand-file revolt against an ineffective leadership. Lately the A.F.S.C.M.E.'s rolls have been swelling by 1,000 recruits a week. Members range from zookeepers to engineers and social workers. About a third are women, and a third are blacks-two groups that union leaders have found difficult to organize or have ignored. This success has been achieved against fierce resistance from many government officials who insist that public workers have no right to strike. Some 120 road workers in Garrett County. Md., won recognition for their A.F.S.C.M.E. local only after striking the state highway department for 365 days. one of the longest public service strikes in U.S. history. Some 1,300 mostly black garbage men in Memphis got their local recognized in 1968 after a bitter 65-day walkout that indirectly precipitated the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.; he was shot there while

rallying support for the strike. Wurf has achieved his success by a kind of gruff militancy that is a fading memory in many unions. A last-minute college dropout (in his senior year), he looks deceptively like a brooding scholar with his horn-rimmed glasses, roughhewn features and thatched gray hair. He dispels the image when he speaks, showering listeners with fourletter words in a manner that is both threatening and amiable. Wurf's dogged, determined style has aroused traditionally conservative public workers. "Let's face it," he says, "a guy who's been collecting garbage for 20 years is no militant. But when your employer is some elected official who wants to make a show of keeping down taxes, and the worker is the guy who gets it in the neck, you do find a militant.

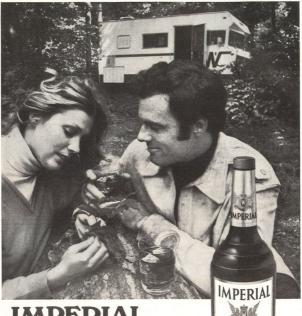
To give the public workers more po-





HIS PRIVATE PLANE PARKED AT SAN JOSÉ AIRPO

CALL ON THE GOOD-NATURED WHISKEY



IMPERIAL It mixes well.

Its rich taste comes on light and goes down easy. In any drink. Even the price is good-natured. HIRAM WALKER

ECONOMY & BUSINESS



WURF IN HIS OFFICE A gruff militance.

litical clout, Wurf has joined forces with the National Education Association and the firefighters union to organize the 3,000,000-member CAPE (for Coalition of American Public Employees). It is lobbying in Washington for a kind of national public employees labor relations act that will give workers full collective bargaining rights. Wurf has pushed hard for repeal of the Hatch Act, which forbids public workers to choose sides during an election, and has openly encouraged political activism within his union. An A.F.S.C.M.E. road show tours the country to teach local unionists how to organize political rallies, telethons, and letter-writing campaigns. "Before," explains Wurf, "we were afraid to politicize the union, and we got nowhere, so now we are political as hell."

Wurf viewed the AFL-CIO's delemie with the Nison Administration after the last election as "a dangerous game." But last election as "a dangerous game." But Goerge Meany's recent blasts at Government policies may indicate that the delemie is distinguishing that possibility can only give satisfaction to Jerry Murf, an old-fashioned labor leader who believes that any collusion between unions and the Government "erases labor's moral commitment" to the American worker and consumer.

INVESTMENT

A Different Hangover

Disillusioned with stocks and other traditional investments, more and more Americans are putting new kick in their portfolios by buying warehouse receipts for Scotch whisky. Their interest has been piqued by growing demand for the drink and a spirited direct-mail ad campaign by U.S. and British whisky brokers, who promise annual gains of 15% to 20%. Some investors really do that well—but others, operating in an unregulated business

largely controlled by brokers, blenders and other experts, emerge with an excruciating financial hangover.

An investor must usually put up a minimum of \$1.500 to S2,000 to buy a "parcel" of raw new spirits that his broker has bought from a Scottish distiller. In return, he gets a receipt from a bonded warehouse in Scottland giving him title to the whisky and bills for storage and insurance costs. After waiting out a three-year aging period specified by British law, he tries to sell his whisky to blenders who run short, or to other investors.

On average, over the past two decades, the value of newly distilled Scotch has doubled during the aging period lead to the process of some types awared down prices of some types as much as give Scotch is smoky flavor, are strong now because of rising world demand; the Japanese, for instance, import malts to blend into such "Scotch-type" drinks a Suntory whisky. A supply glut, however, is still depressing the prices of malts to give Scotch is lightness.

The investor in Scotch is heavily dependent on his broker. No daily price lists on Scotch trades are published in the U.S., and the Securities and Exchange Commission has been unable to establish regulatory authority over the business, although it contends that the warehouse receipts are investment contracts. Scotch plungers also are prev to arcane worries; for example, if much of the investor's whisky evaporates in storage, the price of his barrel goes down. If all the uncertainties drive an investor to drink, he cannot even readily imbibe his own booze. To bring it into the U.S. he would, in effect, have to start a liquor company, and go through the tortuous process of getting an import and bottling license from the Treasury Department.

CHINA

High Prices at the Fair

Early in the morning, shoppers lined up behind a rope guarding the entrance to the ten-story building. At precisely 8:30, an attendant dropped the barrier, and the race was on. The buyers sprinted through the doorways for the elevators; some of the more vigorous bounded up stairways in an attempt to get ahead of the crowd. It was not a rush for cut-rate panty hose at a discount house: rather, it was the scene at this spring's version of the semiannual Canton Trade Fair, where Chinese traders showed off their wares to the largest collection of foreign businessmen ever. And it was a bust: the eager foreigners found far more high prices than bargains

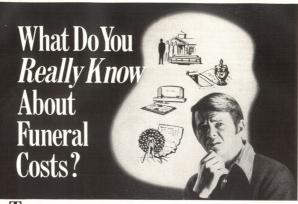
Expecting the Chinese to continue their policy of pricing commodities well below world levels, a record 30,000 foreigners, including about 150 Americans turred up for the month-long fair, which ends this week. They were shocked to find that the Chinese have hiked their prices up to or even above world market scales. Rugs were up 200% over a year ago, and antiques and jade are going for 40% to 300% more than last year. The price of mao-tai, the potent millet liquor, has soared to \$28 a bottle—more than twice the price of Chivas Resal.

The big price hikes clearly nettled many foreign buyers. The roughly 3,000 Japanese in attendance seemed undaunted, but most American firms were forced to curtail purchases severely, if they made any at all, A U.S. garment buyer, asked to pay \$32 each for cashmere sweaters that sold at last November's fair for \$9, bristled: "I can get them cheaper in Taiwan." Some excentions to the nonbuying rule: Sears, Roebuck, Bloomingdale's and Macy's made purchases of furniture, rattan and handicrafts, and West Coast importers Huntington & Rice placed orders for Chefoo white wine, which will retail in the U.S. for about \$3.50.

Western experts offer a variety of possible explanations for the price boosts. The Chinese need more foreign currency to cover the cost of importing expensive Western technology, such as \$300 million in petrochemical and synthetic-fiber plants recently ordered from The Netherlands and Japan, and they may have simply overestimated demand for their products. On the other hand, they could be trying to camouflage an inability to produce large quantities of some goods by pricing them high enough to discourage big orders. In that case, they may have succeeded all too well and discouraged many buy-



JAPANESE DICKERING FOR GOODS Costlier than Scotch.



There are many misconceptions about funeral costs. One reason is that there are other charges involved in a funeral than those of the funeral director. Among these are cemetry or cremation charges, monuments or markers, and miscellaneous expenses for such things as newspaper death notices and flowers.

Another mistaken belief is that funeral directors won't discuss funeral or burial costs frankly and specifically. This is not true. Members of the National Funeral Directors Association stand ready to give you whatever cost information you desire at any time.

To further assist you NFDA has published an informative brochure "What About Funeral Costs?" It will give you a better understanding of the subject and dispel many of the myths you may have heard.

Six other NFDA brochures discuss: thoughts about the funeral, arranging a funeral, the presence of the body, the condolence visit, pre-planning funerals, and children and death. You will find them all most helpful because they are based on experience, research and knowledge.

Send for your FREE copies today. You will be glad you did.

· The Condolence or Sympathy



The Pre-Arranging and Pre-Financian of Surgery of Puersels Some Thoughts to Cavaler Some Questions and Assucers When Arranging With the Body Present

NAME. (Please Print)

ADDRESS.

CITY STATE ZIP.

TO: NATIONAL FUNERAL DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION 135 West Wells Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203

Please send me FREE copies of these seven brochures:

· What About Funeral Costs?

SHOW BUSINESS

Ryan's Daughter

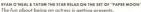
Publicity posters liken her to Shirley Tenelle. Her perky performance in Paper Moon is being compared with the classic childhood performances of Jackic Coogan and Jackic Cooper. Still, such megapraise does not entirely please nine-year-old Tatum O'Neal. "It's not the funnest thing in the world being

EYAN O'NEAL & LATUM THE STAR RELAX ON TH

green eyes sparking, she adds: "You have got to admit he did very well." Actually, Tatum stole scene after scene.

Tatum's childhood has been more gothic than glamorous. Her mother, Actress Joanna Moore, and O'Neal are divorced, and waged bitter custody fights over Tatum and her brother Griffin. 8 For several years the children lived a hippie existence with their mother on a hippie existence with their mother on a his former wife was using drugs and not properly supervising the children. The parents came to an agreement in 1971,





called a boy," she laments in her husky voice. It was not all that much fun making a movie either. "I thought you could make a movie in one day with maybe four hours of work, because you can see it in two hours," she reasoned. Instead, it took 60 days. But in the resulting 102 minutes, Tatum O'Neal emerges as the most exciting child star in decades.

With a cunning apple pie face. Tatum seems typecast as Addie Pray, a preternaturally shrewd waif who hooks up with a con arrist, played by her father, Ryan O'Neal. Soon she proves a defter swindler than O'Neal. She also seems more worldly, smoking, cussing and plotting dirty tricks. A pair of ragtag charmers, they sometimes earn their keep hawking Bibles to new vidows.

Off-screen Tatum is a pixie. Her moods flicker from gleeful to sassy, and she dreams of growing up to "wear big elevator shoes and great clothes." She confided to TIME's Mary Cronin that "what was good about the film was that I got to know my father better." Then,

and Ryan took Tatum while the mother kept Griffin. When Director Peter Bogdanovich suggested that O'Neal and Tatum co-star. O'Neal leaped at the chance. 'I felt if we did this movie together,' he says, "my God, we'd be connected for life. It would undo the years we were not together."

Not being together seemed like a

good idea during the tensions of filming. When Tatum would blow a scene, she was quick to pass the buck. "It wasn't my fault," she would cry. "Ryan did it." Says Bogdanovich: "She was a handful."

Tatum learned to smoke for the role, but yows. "I'm not going to smoke in real life—Humphrey Bogart died from it." Harder than smoking was a seene where she had to go up to a candy counter and say, "Can! Thave some was "full of penicillin, and my mind was spinning." Bogdanovich decided he wanted ther to ask for Dentyne. "I told him, "You can't do that. I'm sick. I've



learned my lines and I can't do it over.' "
But she did 43 takes—and in the end
she asked for Juicy Fruit.

With Paper Moon behind her, Tatum thinks that the fun thing about being an actress "is getting presents. —like the gold hand that Cicely Tyson gave me when I finished Paper Moon." She flashes the charm and says. "I'm spoiled. I wasn't spoiled when I was younger. But I think that the present for me is to be a little spoiled."

King James to the End In the wacky world of show biz, the

in the water, World of show the, the week begins on Wednesday when Variety hits the newstands, Invariably, it that the the season of the water of th

For stars and extras, angels and helions, bookers and authors. Variety is holy writ, even if its writing often plays have with the English language. A lead story last week about efforts to clean up Times Square, also known as Broadway, excited this one-sentence sockoop of the star of the star

The story carried the byline of Abel freen, Variety's editor for the past 40 years and the man most responsible for its whammo style and success. If Variety is the bible of show business with a slanguage all its own. Green, to mix up a Variety-style metaphor, was its viry's vocabulary was respelled under his jocular hand. Samples: webs (TV networks), fest (festival), biopic (filmed works), fest (festival), biopic (filmed

The Lazy Man's Way to Riches

'Most People Are Too Busy Earning a Living to Make Any Money'

I used to work hard. The 18hour days. The 7-day weeks.

But I didn't start making big money until I did less—a lot less. For example, this ad took about

For example, this ad took about 2 hours to write. With a little luck, it should earn me 50, maybe a hundred thousand dollars.

What's more, I'm going to ask you to send me 10 dollars for something that'll cost me no more than 50 cents. And I'll try to make it so irresistible that you'd be a darned

fool not to do it.

After all, why should you care if
I make \$9.50 profit if I can show

you how to make a lot more?
What if I'm so sure that you will
make money my Lazy Man's Way
that I'll make you the world's most
unusual guarantee?

And here it is: I won't even cash your check or money order for 31 days after I've sent you my material

That'll give you plenty of time to get it, look it over, try it out. If you don't agree that it's worth

at least a hundred times what you invested, send it back. Your uncashed check or money order will be put in the return mail. The only reason I won't send it

to you and bill you or send it C.O.D. is because both these methods involve more time and money. And I'm already going to give you the biggest bargain of your life.

Because I'm going to tell you what it took me 11 years to perfect: How to make money the Lazy Man's Way.

O.K.—now I have to brag a little. I don't mind it. And it's necessary—to prove that sending me 10 dollars...which I'll keep "in escrow" until you're satisfied...is the smartest thing you ever did.

I live in a home that's worth \$100,000. I know it is, because I turned down an offer for that much. My mortgage is less than half that, and the only reason I haven't paid it off is because my Tax Accountant says I'd be an idiot.

My "office," about a mile and a half from my home, is right on the beach. My view is so breathtaking that most people comment that they don't see how I get any work done. But I do enough. About 6 hours a day, 8 or 9 months a year.

The rest of the time we spend at

our mountain "cabin." I paid \$30,000 for it-cash.

I have 2 boats and a Cadillac. All paid for.

We have stocks, bonds, investments, cash in the bank. But the most important thing I have is priceless: time with my family.

And I'll show you just how I did it—the Lazy Man's Way—a secret I've shared with just a few friends 'til now.

It doesn't require "education." I'm a high school graduate.

It doesn't require "capital." When I started out, I was so deep in debt that a lawyer friend advised bankruptcy as the only way out. He was wrong. We paid off our debts and, outside of the mortgage, don't own, cent to, any more age.

don't owe a cent to any man.
It doesn't require "iuck." I've had more than my share, but I'm not promising you that you'll make as much money as I have. And you may do better; I personally know one man who used these principles, worked hard, and made 11 million dollars in 8 years. But money isn't

It doesn't require "talent." Just enough brains to know what to look for. And I'll tell you that. It doesn't require "youth." One woman I worked with is over 70. She's travelled the world over, making all the money she needs, doing only what I taught her.

It doesn't require "experience." A widow in Chicago has been averaging \$25,000 a year for the past 5 years, using my methods.

What does it require? Belief. Enough to take a chance. Enough to absorb what I'll send you. Enough to put the principles into action. If you do just that—nothing more, nothing less—the results will be hard to believe. Remember—I guarantee it.

You don't have to give up your job. But you may soon be making so much money that you'll be able to. Once again — I guarantee it.

The wisest man I ever knew told me something I never forgot: "Most people are too busy earning a living to make any money."

Don't take as long as I did to find out he was right.

I'll prove it to you, if you'll send in the coupon now. I'm not asking you to 'believe' me. Just try it. If I'm wrong, all you've lost is a couple of minutes and an 8-cent stamp. But what if I'm right?

| Sworn | Sta | temen |
|-------|-----|-------|
| | | |

"I have examined this advertisement. On the basis of personal acquaintance with Mr. Joe Karbo for 18 years and my professional relationship as his accountant, I certify that every statement is true."

[Accountant's name available upon request.]

Bank Reference

Southern California First National Bank 17122 Beach Blvd., Huntington Beach, California 92647

Joe Karbo

17105 South Pacific, Dept. 437

Sunset Beach, California 90742

Joe, you may be full of beans, but what have I got to lose? Send me the Lazy Man's Way to Riches. But don't deposit my check or money order for 31 days after it's in the mail.

If I return your material—for any reason—within that time, return my uncashed check or money order to me. On that basis, here's my ten dollars

Name
Address
City State Zip
0 1972

Turn your AM Car Radio into AM-FM

Turn this ad sideways to see <u>actual</u> <u>size</u> of Motorola FM Tuner



You get your money's worth with

MOTOROLA

SOMETHING ELSE in sound on wheels

SHOW BUSINESS



ABEL GREEN OF "VARIETY"
A slanguage all his own.

biography), exex (executives), soap scripter (writer of soap operas). His most quoted headline was penned early on in his career: STICKS NIX HICK PIX. Green bore a bulky resemblance to

Green bore a bulky resemblance to George S. Kaufman, and he could be almost as funny, talking in an original staceato shorthand. Broadway legend has it that when he wanted a friend to give him a phone call, he would say: "Gimme a quick Ameche one of these poor of the care of Don Andersh bio-prof Alexane Dello Canedon bore of the care of the

Green was a blunt, unpretentious man. Sime Silverman, who founded the paper in 1905, hired Green in 1918; in 1933 Green began to edit the paper, was given a battered desk close to the window of Variety's office just off Manhattan's Times Square and never changed it. He was rarely without the bow tie and sleeve garters he affected to look like Sime. He seemed to know every entertainer, the famous and freakish alike. A walk down the street invariably involved dozens of exchanged greetings and many an impromptu conference. He found time to co-author, with Comedian Joe Laurie Jr., Show Biz: From Vaude to Video, an encyclopedic history of the business. He traveled constantly and kept up with entertainers all over the world. But he could not accept some of the changes he saw. The new pornography appalled him

Early this year, in a letter to a publisher, Green distilled some of his personal philosophy: "If you like what you're doing, 'he wrote, 'and so long as you can physically and mentally function, my credo long has been that I'd rather wear out than rust out." Last week, shortly after writing his Page One story, Abel Green died of a heart altack at 72—doing what he like. Don't take chances with your vacation plans. Begin them here.



When it's your vacation, you don't want anything to go wrong. But travel today can be complex, involved. So it should be handled by a real professional . . . a travel

He knows how to help you get the most out of your time and money when you travel. His knowhow and experience can improve every vacation or business trip you take.

A travel agent can:

Send you the most scenic ways —book jets, rail, rental cars, cruise ships, sightseeing tours.

Reserve a poolside cabana in Florida, a downtown hotel room near your business appointment, or an African safari!

Handle visas, schedules and all the complicated travel paperwork. Give you solid advice about tipping, wardrobe, weather and local customs where you're going.

What does all this cost you? Often there's no charge at all, beyond out-of-pocket expenses. Ask him about it.

The American Society of Travel Agents (ASTA), world's largest professional travel trade association, wants you to know that the best way to get the most out of your travel dollar is to use the professional knowledge and experience of a travel agent,

Look for this reassuring sign in your neighborhood.





Another gold medal won at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904.

> Son Tommy Dewar took a booth at the 1885 Brewer's Show in London, to find new markets for his father's blend. He used a bagpipe to entertain. (The first commercial , use of music?)

Sir Thomas Dewar became famous for his terse comments, among them, "Do right and fear no man, don't write and fear no woman,"

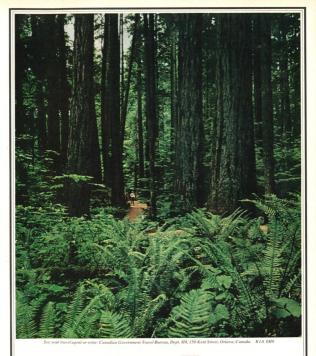
Certain fine whiskies from the hills and glens of Scotland are blended into every drop of Dewar's "White Label." Before blending, every one of these selected whiskies is rested and matured in its own sing vat. Then, one by one, they're brought together by the skilled hand of the master blender of Perth.

Dewar's never varies.



ATTORN TAKEN MOTTE

The facts in this advertisement have been authenticated by the management of John Dewar & Sons, Ltd., Perth, Scotland



Canad<mark>ä</mark>. This Summer.

BOOKS



DORIS LESSING

Portrait of a Lady

the summer before the dark by DORIS LESSING 273 pages, Knopf, \$6,95.

This is a book about what Dor's Lesing, as always with a straight face, describes as "a pretty, healthy, serviceable woman." Her name is Kate Brown. She is upper-middle-class English. Unlike word Lessing women, who are versions of Lessing herself, she is no intellectual since acquired at some pain those carsince acquired at some pain those cartily." Palience, self-control, self-ahengation, self-discipline, chastity, adaptability to others."

This is also a book about beginning to grow old. As death approaches, so does the need to satisfy a feeling, "perhaps the deepest one we have," Kate reflects, "that what matters most is that we learn through living." None of the received ideas she can reach down off the rack, along with those becoming dresses from a boutique called Jolie Madame, are much consolation: "Marriage is a compromise," "A lot of time, a lot of pain, went into learning very little. The possible reactions to much of what is going on in the world today are a rather hopeless twosome: "We ought to do something about it" or "Oh Woe, Alas!" What would normally be in store

for Kate? Literarily, she might in this day and age wind up embalmed as the heroine of a Jean Kerr comedy, or a case history for Women's Lib (Anatomy is not Destiny, etc.). In life, Doris Lessing notes, Kate's future would be a slow, desperate struggle against the signs of decay—"tinting her hair, keeping her weight down, following the fash-

ions carefully so that she would be smart but not mutton dressed as lamb."

But Novelist Lessing; 53, does not have time for all that now. In the past 20 years she has written and lived her way through and forsakgn such pangs and the accomplishments of applied Marxism seem to offer. She is increasingly haunted by a vision of society's collapse, and maybe the world's collapse, and maybe the world and the set will be a social to the set of the set

Fever. Kate Brown and the reader, accordingly, must face the shock of age, the loss of beauty, with dramatic speed. And if that means that the plot must groan like a Paris elevator, or the prose sometimes has to scuff along in rundown slippers and an old dressing gown. Doris Lessing has never been one to take the cosmetics of fiction seriously.

Kate's family flees for the summer. Rate gets a job—first as a translator, then as a coordinator of international foundation programs. (She discovers that running a foundation in very like running a family Yes, Kate also has ternal about the poor, charming young man who drags her off to unsanitary Spain. There she gets fever, makes it back to a London hotel, descends into darkness for some weeks. When she wavakes—hair no longer dyed, all advanced word of the description of the descri

Oh Wee, Alas? Not exactly, for wisdom comes from loss. Pretty women, as everyone knows, are given special treatment. But beauty is a costly possession, and women pay for it by pretending that the skin is the self, and carrying on a discreet, lifelong fliration with the world that encourages in them longer than usual the human delusion that the face vou put on is really you.

Caring. For a pretty woman, matrimony puts the highest sort of premium on that view, and the book, naturally, has some harsh words about what even a good marriage does to women. Are there any alternatives? Kate wonders. Probably not, Doris Lessing decides, at least for those women who seem to be born (as well as ingrained) with a sense of caring. Kate is intrigued and provoked, though, by a neighbor either a mutant monster or the Woman of the Future-who seems to have no sense of responsibility and whose children still seem to have turned out well enough.

For a while she shares quarters with a young girl, also a middle-class escapee, who subsists entirely on baby food. Kate has a recurring Jungian dream about a long, cold struggle to carry a wounded seal to water and so save its life. Eventually she goes home, for the first time since her marriage more concerned about herself than about her body or her children. As a small emblem of independence she wears her gray hair untinted. "The light thaj is the desire to please had gone out."

Fiction is destroyed by précis—Dors i Lessing's more than most wirters'. Her power lies in the kind of nonpartians gravity that overrides any specific levity a cynical reader may generate, about the questions of life which knows at the outset there are no answess." I haven't been married for years," she told an interviewer recently. "No one knows the virtues it requires, and I haven't got them." Have them or not, haven't got them." Have them or not, the control of the properties of the propert

Crabgrass in Eden

THE WORLD OF APPLES

by JOHN CHEEVER

174 pages, Alfred A. Knopf, \$5.95.

Timeless as a myth, the Cheever there steps off his Grand Central commuter train into his enchanting white New England village. Outdoors in winter, smoke curls from chimneys. Indoors, candielight will cast a glow over the faces of his children, while lending a golden patina to the dining-room table he has acquired from his own or somehody else's Boston ancestors.

All this, a Cheever hero well knows, is what the American Dream is all about. And yet Something is Wrong, and that something will send him, in antic middle age, on manic quests. He will cross the county via backyard swimming pools, for instance, or take to robbing his neighbors' seemly homes



JOHN CHEEVER
The perilous provinces.

BOOKS

(The Housebreaker of Shady Hill).

Cheever has spun his rankling myth of crabgrass in Eden to novel length, in The Wapshot Chronicles, in Bullet Park. But his sentences, polished, often lyrical, are almost too good to sustain. Above all, he is a perceiver, a man given to visions. The short story is Cheever's form, and he is at the very top of it in the ten stories that make up The World of Apples.

Cheever country does not look better to its creator as he and it grow older (he is now 60). The marriages that once cracked as exquisitely as Steuben glass now are already fractured at the begin-ning of a story. The family chronicles, once so romping, so rich in WASP eccentricity, now seem dominated by death and madness (The Jewels of the Cabots).

Cheever women, charming even at boredom, eat in French restaurants and desperately dream of phantom lovers. Cheever men sit on the edge of their bathtubs and talk to imaginary girls named Olga. Cheever country is a lonelier and lonelier place, and its inhabitants are getting in an awfully bad way. But rather than turning sour, the author, if anything, seems more resilient, more demanding of "tenderness, love, loving good cheer—all the splendid and decent things I know to be possible in the world."

Cheever country is too tidy, too domesticated to contain, even as an irony, the satyrs and nymphs Cheever people metamorphose into now. These maddened lovers, these wild death haters can no longer be accommodated to suburbia. So Cheever appears to be reaching deeper into his imagination, exploring new and more perilous provinces.

In The World of Apples he writes about an 82-year-old New England poet, living as an expatriate south of Rome. Asa Bascomb is a poet of rain winds, of a cleansed universe. Unaccountably, he is attacked by demons. Pornographic fantasies begin to beset him. Scatology streams from his pen. But old Asa performs his rites, baptizes himself in a mountain waterfall, and lo and behold, he is reborn. Purged of his nightmares, he dreams again of Paradise Lost-of a world of apples. Something like the same small miracle, praise be, seems to keep happening to John Cheever. Melvin Maddacks

Dleams of Grory

FOREIGN DEVILS by IRVIN FAUST 295 pages, Arbor House, \$7.95.

Norris Blake is a flamboyant turnof-the-century newspaper correspondent in the Herbert Bayard Swope tradition. Sidney Benson is a modest midcentury schoolteacher clarinetist, separated husband and blocked novelist of the 1960s who floats on nostalgia rather than tradition. Blake is a character in Benson's novel-in-progress. Both are



Life lived at half-staff.

characters in Irvin Faust's fourth novel, Foreign Devils, a typically Faustian fiction that generates considerable warmth by rubbing heroic fantasies against drab realities.

In a word, quixotic. Generous of mind and deed, Sid Benson tries to be reconciled with his wife, visits his aging mother at her candy store, and unsuccessfully attempts to comfort a divorcee whom he picked up at a middleaged singles dance. Benson's is a life lived at half-staff. The flags are high and snapping only in his imagination, a quaint attic of '30s and '40s swing tunes, names and faces from old copies of Photoplay. World War II stories and oddments of history.

Born Losers. Sometimes this clutter gets an enlivening jolt from the real world. For Benson this occurs when President Nixon visits China-when "The Foreign Devil re-enters the Forbidden City. After 72 years." In 1900, the year of the Boxer Rebellion, the foreign devils included everyone from Europe's great powers, the U.S. and Japan, all looking for their piece of the enormous fortune cookie. It is the Boxers. those Chinese Robin Hoods who thought their magic would protect them from Western bullets, who most excite Benson's imagination. By creating Norris Blake, a reporter for Joseph Pulitzer's old New York World, Benson can indulge his fascinations and own romantic yearnings.

The Boxers are natural material for Author Faust's particular talent: the humane handling of born losers whose illusions run away with them. He does too little with it, however. The book is a loose braiding of Benson's rearguard action against middle age with Blake's daring adventures during the Boxer Rebellion, "Fictionally oriented history" is what Benson calls his Blake novel. Like Faust's own Willy Remembers (1971), in which a 93-year-old veteran re-creates an addled version of the Spanish American War, Sid Benson tries to recapture a simpler, more dashing time.

Faust has always relied on cultural trivia to create atmosphere. In his fiveshort-story collection, Roar Lion Roar (1965), the artifacts of popular culture actually possessed Faust's characters like real demons. In Foreign Devils. however, the Boxers, Benny Goodman, the basketball fixes of 1951, etc. have sunk to the level of mere nostalgia. One of America's chief natural resources, no doubt, but grossly overexploited at the R.Z. Sheppard moment.

Notable

EVENING IN BYZANTIUM by IRWIN SHAW 368 pages. Delacorte. \$7.95.

Irwin Shaw's recent characters seem to come in three possible shapes: flat, angular or round. They range from the "sharp-faced, balding, insignificant-looking" to the merely "round, mahogany-tanned [and] smiling." Somewhere in between, you will find Jesse Craig, the 48-year-old protagonist of Shaw's latest bestselling novel. Craig's last two films bombed for \$8,000,000; his estranged wife has grown accustomed to his checkbook; his mistress may be getting bored with his body. So Craig does the only logical thing: he flees to the Cannes Film Festival to mend his fortunes

He is there also, he tells himself, "to save my life." But his first-aid program calls for steady transfusions of alcohol, a spicy diet of youth-cult flicks and, in desperate mo-

ments, mouth-tomouth sessions

IRWIN SHAW

with a girl reporter. Craig also broods about his past (he has been an s.o.b. to a lot of little people) and agonizes over his future. His soulsearching is supported by a pulpy cast that includes

his own Antonioni-bred daughter, his Irish agent, an embittered ex-screenwriter, an aging movie mogul, several leering French waiters and-since this is Cannes-a fallingdown-drunk film critic.

Craig's women are portrayed as cunning, deceitful and expendable. Leave them for a few hours and they feel they have been deserted. Craig likes to drop big names, from Bobby Kennedy to Ingmar Bergman. At one point, who should appear in a Cannes restaurant but Pablo Picasso, "bull-like vital-ity...great naked head" and all. Forced to look at Shaw's hero from a painter's perspective, Picasso sees "a lonely fellow human being moving painfully across an empty canvas." More than likely he spotted a slightly stale, rich novelist doodling on a tablecloth.

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BOOKS

YOUNG WINSTON'S WARS: THE ORIGINAL DESPATCHES [sic] OF WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, WAR CORRESPONDENT, 1897-1900 Edited by FREDERICK WOODS 350 pages, Viking, \$8,95.

The reporter is a young subaltern. well connected and surpassingly selfconfident. He charges with the 21st Lancers against the dervishes at Khartoum, makes his way alone through the desert to the Nile, escapes from a Boer detention camp into an eight-day chase. Apart from money and fame, his principal aim in these dispatches is to win over each breakfast reader of the Daily Telegraph and Morning Post to his own vision of colonial expansion. This is the age of Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain. The exuberant correspondent foresees a "brave system of state-aided-almost state-compelled -emigration" to "regions of possibility" where "the great-grandchildren of the crossing-sweeper and the sandwichman sport by the waves ... sing aloud for joy in the beauty of their home and the pride of their race.

The young Churchill duly records the Crown's triumph in the Sudan over "these savages with their vile customs and brutal ideas." But in South Africa, he praises "the stubborn, unpretentious valour of the

Boer." British set-

backs make him

fudge, apologize, sermonize. He is

capable of humor.

though. "Islam,"

he writes, "does

indeed teach man

how to die, [but]

dying is a trick

very few people

have been unable

YOUNG CHURCHILL

to pick up. The writer is clearly a promising young fellow. It was no surprise that he went on to win his first electoral victory—as a Tory—in 1900. The book is a fascinating curiosity and all the more tantalizing because it gives no clue as to why the young Tory, a few years later, joined the 1907 Liberal revolution that helped transform Old England into a 20th century state.

LOOKING BACK by JOYCE MAYNARD

160 pages, Doubleday, \$5.95.

In the spring of 1972, Joyce Maynard, then 18 and a Yale freshman, sprang full-blown upon the pages of the New York Times Magazine with a treatise on growing "old" in the 1960s. Since then, she has become the enfant visible of the magazine world, writing features about everything from proms to prodigies and becoming a gossip-column celebrity in her own right by tying up with the hero of another generation, J.D. Salinger (TIME, Jan. 15).



LOYCE MAYNARD

from a sense of déjà lu. It not only draws heavily on those earlier articles, it trades on childhood experiences shared to some extent by every reader. Even the author's self pity seems a bit wilted. On the very first page, she complains of a

childhood "when being young meant finishing your milk and missing Twilight Zone.

Maynard's generation was David Riesman's Lonely Crowd come to life. No longer fine-tuned so much to parents or even to peers, her contemporaries were instead formed by a host of advertising slogans, magazine spreads and television screenplays. Maynard confesses that at 13 she was virtually enslaved by the fashion pages of Seventeen (she still has every copy since 1965), nearly traumatized by LIFE's cover photograph of an unborn baby ("that eerie fetus") and mesmerized by the very worst of TV ("five thousand hours of my life into this box").

Not all clichés need apply, howeyer. She claims that her generation's sexual promiscuity, when it existed at all, resulted as much from the expectations of the adult world as it did from liberated libidos. Still a self-conscious virgin when she first arrived at Yale, she asked herself, "How has it happened, what have we come to, that the scarlet letter these days isn't A but V?

Best Sellers

- FICTION 1-Once Is Not Enough, Susann
- (1 last week 2—Evening in Byzantium, Shaw (3)
- 3—The Matlock Paper, Ludlum (7) 4—The Digger's Game, Higgins (4) 5—Jonathan Livingston Seagull,
- 6-The Taking of Pelham One Two Three, Godey (2) 7—The Odessa File, Forsyth (6) 8—People Will Always Be Kind,
- Sheed (8)
- 9-Green Darkness, Seton (10) 10-Law And Order, Uhnak NONFICTION
 - 1-Dr. Atkins' Diet Revolution,
- Atkins (1) 2-The Joy of Sex, Comfort (2) 3—Laughing All the Way, Howar (5)
- 4-The Implosion Conspiracy, 5-The Life & Death of Adolf Hitler,
- 6-1'm O.K., You're O.K., Harris (6)
- 7—The Best and the Brightest, Halberstam (4) 8-The Super Cops, Whittemore (9)

Lindbergh (8)

9-My Life in the Mafia, Vincent Teresa with Thomas Renner 10-Hour of Gold, Hour of Lead, How do you mark the Silver Anniversary of one of the world's oldest emerging nations? This way-in 92 pages of stirring text and photography that's a military history, social biography, and political portrait all in one. Who's publishing it? Life Special Reports-a new Time Inc. group formed to create single-subject "documentaries" on people, places and events in the news.

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Remember Kim Phuc?



hoto: Wide Worl

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This is Kim Phuc at the Children's Medical Relief Hospital in Saigon. Her pain is gone and this happy smile has replaced the terror of that day on Highway One. Her burned back has healed thanks to the skill of the surgeons at the hospital, the only one of its kind in the country. After several operations, Kim Phuc is back home, completely recovered from her wounds.

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Anything you can send will help

Thank you for remembering Kim Phuc.

Politics at Court

"Such 'Disneyland' contentions are becoming commonplace." wrote the angry court of appeals judge in 1965 as the turned down what he considered to be a frivolous claim: that a defendant in a lincup has a right to have his lawyer present. Two years later Earl Warers's Supreme Court made that Disneyland contention the law of he land. Five years after that, with the angry appeals years after that, with the angry appeals U.S., the Supreme Court had hedged the lineour right substantially.

The lengthening catalogue of legal shifts that have occurred since Warren Burger took over the court is described in a new book by Lawyer and TIME Correspondent James F. Simon. In His Own

Thus the only unique aspect of Nixon's court picking was his specific lawand-order resolve to "strengthen the peace forces as against the criminal forces." But Nixon can only choose the Justices; the power to decide cases remains with them. Simon clearly illustrates the different uses of that power in two fine and scrupulously fair portraits of Earl Warren and Warren Burger. the look-alike, think-apart Chiefs. Warren is shown cutting through the legalities to ask "But is it fair?" In his opinions Warren "galloped past the problems to his conclusion," Simon observes. He exemplified "honesty, fair-

ness, patriotism and idealism."

The Warren Court, says Simon, "wanted to teach the nation its deepest purposes and meanings. It is that spe-



WARREN & BURGER IN 1970, ONE YEAR AFTER TRANSFER OF THE CHIEF JUSTICESHIP
The politician believed in law, the lawyer in politics.

Image: The Supreme Court in Richard Nison's America (McSay, 57.95) is the first comprehensive study of the latest transformation of the nation's highest bench. As such it is a thoroughgoing, readable and up-to-date supplementing of Mr. Dooley's 1901 observation that "no matther whether th' Constitution follows th' flag or not, th' Supreme Court follows th' illiction returns."

And when the Justices don't, the President does. Nixon's failed nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell were hardly the first presidential efforts to strike a geographical balance. George Washington, Simon notes, named "to his first court three Northerners and three Southerners." Abraham Lincoln complained that Justices "trample on the rights of others": he chose men for the high bench largely because they agreed with him. In general, Simon notes, whenever "the U.S. has faced political, social or economic crises on a broad scale. Presidents have felt a greater compulsion to control the court.'

cial role that the Burger Court neither serves nor covets." Paradoxically perhaps, Warren, the California Governor and lifelong politician, brought to the bench an expansive and unremitting belief in the strength and power of the law; Warren Burger, the longtime lawyer and judge, came to the court believing that true strength and power reside in the political process. Change in the U.S., he has said, "is a legislative and policy process. And there is a very limited role for courts in this respect. Simon points out that Burger lives up to the implications of his philosophy by being a far more dedicated off-thebench crusader for prison and court reform than Warren ever was.

But Burger does not hew to the scholarly tradition of true "judicial restraint." Indeed, says Simon, the President did not want more judicial restraint, as he frequently claimed. He wanted politically conservative Justices who would be as assertive in rolling back new rights as the Warren majority had been in establishing them. Simon contends that in at least three out of four of his choices. Nixon gos what he was looking for William Rehnquist, for instance. "Is an activist every bit as tenacious as William Douglas." And Harry Blackmun, like the Chief Justice with whom he almost always votes, also seems willing to follow his inclinations seems will me to follow his inclinations of the discount of the control of the control

With holdover Justices Byron White and Potter Stewart also tending toward that view, the court seems to have taken a right turn in criminal cases. As Simon puts it, 4N + X = L.A.O.—that is, four Nixon nominees plus White or Stewart equals law-and-order. Surprisingly, there has been little erosion of desegregation decisions or of one-man, one-vote reapportionment cases. Indeed, "except in the criminal area, the individual rights won under the Warren Court still stand." But, in Simon's judgment, "for the new interest groups, such as environmentalists, the new court direction suggests that they may have to look elsewhere for relief

Simon himself obviously favors Warren activism over the Burger variety. But that preference never controls his selection of important facts or his outlining of the legal reasoning on both sides. For that quality alone, his book should have a priority rating for anyone with more than a passing interest in the court today. Tomorrow's constitutional historians will certainly have to begin with his text when they record their final judgments on the Burger era.

Profanity in Georgia

Under Georgia law, it is illegal to use "obscene and vulgar or profane language in the presence of a female or of a male under the age of 14." No mere remnant of the past, the law was enacted in 1968; now, by a 6-1 vote, the Georgia Supreme Court has upheld its constitutionality. The case at issue: an eleven-year-old girl went up to a car that had stopped in her neighborhood. "Have you ever been laid?" the driver asked. She immediately walked across the street, memorized the license, went home and wrote the number down Traced, identified by the girl and convicted, Alvin Breaux appealed, The court found that the words used were not constitutionally protected free speech because they were "no essential part of any exposition of ideas and [were of] slight social value." Nor was "obscene and vulgar or profane" too vague, said the court; the law simply bans language that "would clearly offend a reasonable person's sense of decency." The court did not consider whether the legislature could have achieved its purpose, with fewer constitutional hazards, by directly banning sexual advances rather than by broadly proscribing filthy language. Breaux's one-year jail sentence stands

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